

Mercurius Ecclesiasticus :

O R,

DOCTOR COZENS

HIS VISITATION

At Warrington in Lancashire, with

divers PRESENTMENTS and CEN-

SURES therein passed.

TOGETHER

With a true Story of the READER of

LIVERPOOLE his twice over wronged

Breeches, brought before the said

Doctor there.

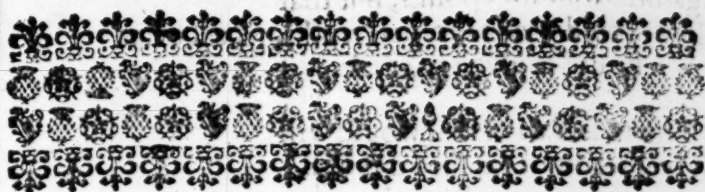
— nec scombro metuentia carmina —

Jan: 7th 1644.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM



Doctor COSENS his Visitation at
Warrington in Lancashire: with a true
 story of the Reader of *Liverpoole*
 his double-wronged Breeches
brought before him there.

THE plunder-Church yeer 'twas, whence *Torke*
 Sent forth those Harpies of her Kirke
Esdall, Wickam, and Cozens:

The last was he that then fate on
 The skorners Bench at Warrington,
 to sell sinne by the dozens.

Had you but heard this Dragon roare
 So farre 'bove that of *Eglimore*,
 or seene this rampant Priest

Trample the Puritan, you wou'd
 Have sworne him one of th' very brood
come out o'the mouth o'th' Beast:

In the first place, his long Oration
 Was spent o'th' Kings late Declaration,
 that none should dare to Preach

Against *Arminian* points, but that
 They should presse Gospell truths, whence flar
 he did enioyne to teach.

All mens salvation that would will
 Graces receipt : he shewd the ill
 of Lectures, Repetitions,
 Afternoone Sermons, and the blame
 Of other forme then *whats your Name*,
 or on that, Expositions.

All unbookd prayers he could not see,
 To be ought else but blasphemy,
 what ? on the spirit to father
 An abortive prayer, whereunto
 The Canon was not Mid-wife, no
 nor Holy Church the mother?

The Doctor the presentments all,
 With fury tore in peeces small,
 that brought in *omnia bene* ;
 Charg'd them to make a new report,
 The reason was unto the Court,
 they were not worth a penny.

In the presentments that were brought,
 One was so sawcy, or ill raught,
 at the Altar for to leane ;

From the Church-yard hedge was one had pluk't
 A twig to still her child that suck'd,
 ah, sacrilegious Queane.

(3)

A Butcher his unhallowed Calfe
To the Church-yard stile had tyed safe,
all must their pennance doe ;

Another for adultery
Escap'd much better, for that he
rapr out an oth or two.

A rich-nof'd Host appear'd being drunke,
He wisht all Puritans were sunke
in their *New-England* passage ;

The Doctor did conclude the man,
No Church imbroyling Puritan,
he knew it by his visage.

And so he scap'd, paying his fees,
So did not he, but lost a Fleece
with's Neighbour that durst pray ;

A Minister call'd *Sabath Clerke*
The Doctor re-baptiz'd, took's *marke*,
and call'd him *Saturday*.

A Reader 'mong the rest he spyed,
Blew were his Breeches which the tyde
o' the Doctors rage did swell ;
He stamp'd and star'd, and grew stark mad.
The adventure dyre and story sad,
I meane you (here) to tell

It was a four-pound right Sir *John*,
That Service read at *L'erpoole Towne*,
His name was *John Wain-wright* ;

A 3

Had

(4)

Had that been too his occupation,
It had been better for the Nation
(with many a such like Wight.)

His Master-piece and highest praise,
'Twas bidding right the Holy-dayes
and chanting out procession;
Kersuing, burying, marrying faire,
Giving good morrow to Master Mayor,
tho' in the midst o' th Lesson.

He passed for a quiet soule,
And no mans foe, did not controule
his parish'ners in their sports;
The Pipers faithfull advocate,
And Beare-heards too, had no mans hate,
was free to all resorts.

Withall he deerly lov'd a cup,
And of it ofren deep would sup,
and then as oft besh—him;
And now his thoughts were all upon
The approaching Visitation,
and how there to acquit him.

Fraught with his Orders, License, Fees,
His Coat Canonick (tho' freeze)
a Church-Warden went too,
Who with a Waller was so loaden,
Before that many a mile they'd troden,
the Priest he gan to sue.

To

To beare the box of the presentments,
 So on they went without resentments
 to *Ranehill* till they came,

An Alehouse (there) stood by the way
 Which soone invired them to stay,
 the Ale was of good fame.

They call'd so oft for to' ther cup,
 That all the Ale was quite drunk up,
 save what untun'd remain'd ;

To that they fell, the night grew on,
 Their thoughts were quench'd towards *Warrington*,
 the Priests breech was ill staine'd.

Both soundly drunke, to bed they'l goe,
 The Roomes o'th' house were ordered so,
 that the good wife was faine

In the same roome to coole her groure
 Where they both lay (sans feare or doubt)
 the chance was Master *Waine*,

Right laid his wronged breeches doewn
 Upon the very self-same Cowme,
 wherein the working Ale was ;

Doubtlesse he took it seeing th' froth
 For a round table and white cloth,
 how'ere, it came to passe

The Breeches fitter much for *Lee*,
 Grew steep'd in Ale for company,
 and with the owner drunk,

So weighty were the boxes, fees,
 Sinfull presentments, that to th' Lees,
 no mervaile if they funke.

The Ale in triumph o're such spoyles,
 Swell'd high and mantl'd, but those broyles
 'rad quickly againe a laid;

No mervaile, now 'twas impoffession
 Without abatement, strife or question
 of the reckning not yet paid.

Besides, hereby the streame i'th' breech
 Returnd unto its spring, by which
 it was repaïrd againe,

And the presentments being drownd,
 That to it a foe might have been found
 it needed not complaine.

The Curate and the Warden both
 Steept as they were in Barly broth,
 felt neither ach nor stitches,
 They'd tune a medicine for the fleas,
 Feard not the next dayes hard release,
 but lay still as the Breeches.

The morning comes, they both arise,
 Say o're the Creed and rub their eyes,
 meane quickly to be packing,

The Reader ready to put on
 His Breeches, but he found anon
 (woe worth him) they were lacking

(7)

He sought them all the roome about
In every place save in the Grout ;
 who would them there suppose ?
The Ale lookt just as did o're night,
Undrunk, no secrets to the light
 would it all disclose.

The Constable was sent for soone,
The Priest cryed out he was undone,
 the fees, presentments lost ;
Orders, License, all were gone,
Which many a yeere h' had liv'd upon,
 and many a groat had cost.

He charg'd the Host t' have stolne them all,
It bootet not to whine or braule,
 at length it was concluded,
Rather then not to make apparance,
The Reader should put on *Hodge Laurence*
 his Breeches tho' th' were blew-died.

Laurence the presentments gone,
Lik'd not t' appeare at *Warrington*,
 but was content to stay
In foccage for the shot unpaid,
While the Curate with his breech arrayed]
 would beare the heat o' th' day.

Which prov'd not small I can assure yee,
For why ? the Doctor grew in fury,
 at the strange Breeches hew ;

B

He

He ask'd what mort'ly gull it was
That there did dare to shew his face,
in cloths thus black and blew.

Whether holy Orders h' had tane ?
Where he officiated ? what lane
or hedge-priest he might be ?
The silly man being quite confounded
With shame and horrou, all furrounded
fell downe upon his knee :

Told him the whole, how h' came out
Cloth'd all in black from head to foot,
but had been rob'd, (alas)
His Breeches, Orders, Fees were gone,
Presentments too, not he alone
but th' Court a looser was.

When of this sacrilegious charge,
The Doctor was inform'd at large,
he vow'd that he would make
The Host a most example dread
of justice, as had ever head
or hand in plot so black.

Immediately he sent a Somner:
The Catchpole was no sooner come neere
to the suspected place,
But in the turning of her Grout,
The Wife had found the Breeches out,
howbeit, in wofull case.

But

But when the whole was fully knowne,
 And 'bout the Towne in rumour blowne,
 the Doctor did assay,
 The Stinking stirre to have referr'd,
 By him and's fellowes to be heard,
 and cleanly made away.

The Host and Hostesse they cryed, no,
 But to the common Law they'd goe,
 at *Derby* Court they'd try it :
 Two Actions they had anent him,
 Whereby they'd make him to repent him,
 and h' should dearly buy it.

One was of slander of their housing,
 Th' other 'twas the brewing loosing ;
 whereto the Priest did plead.
 The house it had (with many a curse)
 Of many a guest oft pickt the purse
 by its large reckonings made.

And for the Ale he prov'd it cleere,
 They'd sold it off as soone, and deare
 as any other brewing ;
 And that it was more strong and stale
 And much the more canonicall,
 by th' aforesaid Breeches stewings.

This doubled suit was often traversed,
 Renew'd againe, and againe reversed,
 untill to one o'th Quorum,

*Two be-
longing
to the
Conte.*

It was referred as Umpire sage
With other two, it to assuage,
Will Ousald and John Orum,

Who ended it with much adoe,
After both sides began to rue.
the Lawyers many Quiblets,
By turning (as the Proverb sayes)
The Hares head (as in such like frayes)
unto the Wild-goose Giblets.



FINIS.

Inquiries, 3

Into the causes of our miseries, whence
they issue-forth upon us : And Reasons
wherefore they have born-us down so low, and
are like to carry us yet lower,

SECT. III.

*Inquiries touching peace, whether we that ask peace, are fons
of peace? Have improved our present peace, for
the peace we have had? Whether we seek
for it, where it is to be found? And
knock for it at the right door, &c.*

[More large on the back-side of the leaf.

Job 34. 29.

*When He giveth quietnesse, who can make trouble? And when
He hideth his face, who then can behold Him?*

Psal. 85. 8.

*I will heare what God the Lord will speak : For He will speak peace
unto His People.*

2 King. 9. 18.

What hast thou to do with Peace?

Esay 8. 7.

There is no peace to the wicked saith my God.

Jan. 8 Published according to Order.

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signe of the Bible in Wood-street, 1644.*

into the causes of our miseries, whence
they issue forth upon us : And because
the power of which we are bound to follow, and
are like to carry us yet lower.

SECT. III.

*Enquiries touching Peace, what it is ? How we improve
the Peace we have ? Who they be that petition for Peace ?
And of whom ? Whether not of those, who would, but cannot
give it : And of those, who if they could, will not give it
while the world stands, being adversaries and enemies to
their own Peace ; to the Peace of God and good men, and
to the Religion of God, the worshipping of Him in spi-
rit and truth : All this declared, and confirmed by two
most notable stories out of the Chronicles of God ; Then
concluded with some use to the Reader.*



Printed for T. B. at the Sign of the Ship, in St. Dunstons Church-yard, 1688.



SECT. III.



Therto I have treated of matters already known, concluded on, and granted on all sides; *That the originall and prime causes* of our sins and sorrowes, are our selves; there we are all agreed, when we have well considered the matter touching the *Secondary causes* of all our evils in *manners* and *doctrines*; we are almost at a point there also, and come up to a conclusion: There is no variety of conceits touching those matters. *D. P. P.* gives us *six Secondary causes of our evils*; and ranks the *Independents* in the front. The other two whom I need name no more, being such men of name, do come up both (as I said) to a point, or Unity; they put down *Independency* to be an evill in the Church and State, an *only evill*; To say all in a word, they conclude, *that way of Church-Governemene to be the gulse*, which receives all, I know not what to call that *all*, but they say, that all the filth and corruption of manners and doctrines emptieth it self in thither, as into a *common-shore*. They could not say more, and if they have not said more then they should have said, then am I wholly ignorant of the sayings of God, and good men. I will not say a word more touching the *Independents*, or the way of worship, their foot bands in. Let them stand as God pleaseth, and if they so walke, they shall stand fast like Mount Sion. He take now the Liberty of a Christian, but no liberty of conceit, further then it shall be grounded upon the good word of God, coming up to the minde and will of God. And so I will enquire into these matters, the causes of our evils; and by Gods grace, I will so enquire, as a man that carries the candle of God in my hand,

SECT. III.

therewith to light my candle, there is cause I should do so, I shall go through the darke, through, and through my own heart all along, in all my inquiries; *Inquiries* I call them, and sad and serious they shall be; I shall put matters to question, only what may be the cause indeed of our present miseries: I could conclude too, and resolve the question, putting all out of Question; But I do not think it fitting so to do; I enquire only; and first;

Sam.
25.6.

Touching peace, many questions about that, which relates mightily to present things, and chiefly to make our peace with God: That *peace* is a fundamentall blessing, a good, and *only* good, there is no doubt of that: *Peace in God*, so we wish when we wish all good to our friend, if we understand, as *Paul* did, what we say. *Peace be both to thee; and peace to thy house, and peace unto all that thou hast*: so *David* salutes *Nabal* the churle, he wisheth him *peace*, and *peace* is all: therefore is there such asking after Peace; *give us peace by all means*, Amen: But what Peace? that is the question; It is but as the world sometime gives, and calls Peace, an out-ward Peace, which we so breath after; Peace to our land, to our houses, &c. It is a naturall desire not to be molested; the wormes of the earth desire as much. I proceed to. (2.) Inquire, who are we that would have Peace? Are we fitted for Peace? have we laid down our weapons, whereby we have maintained our enmity, and war against the God of peace? We would not have him to walk any longer *contrary to us*: Are we resolved to walk no longer *contrary to Him*? I can but give the hint of things: but if we do not enquire more into the matter, we shall be miserably mistaken here at last: I know both Prophets and Priests, and people most of all *bise with their lips*, and cry, *Peace*, give us peace: *But they are ashamed, and confounded, and cover their lips, for there is no answer from God*: No, nor can be as the case stands, for surely God and we are not agreed, *can two walke together except they be agreed*? 3. We would have peace, we would not hear so much as the noise of war in any corner of the land, It is naturall this: A worne desires to preserve it self; it would not be molested nor troubled: but enquire we what use, what *improvement* have we made of our Peace? (not to speak of our wars yet, though there is infinite use to be made thereof: and the Church has received an infinite good therefrom.) But I say, what use of our peace we have had all our dayes, even in these dayes, when the nation is troubled almost every where with the horror of war; what *improvement* have we made of our peace now *all this time*? have we

Amos. 3.3

we as the people of God have done in the day that our peace is lengthened out to us, even to a miracle, while war is *spinning forth* to others, have we at such a time edified one the other in our most holy faith? Surely this is to be sadly enquired into; Surely every soul, all the Assemblies of God, every Congregation, every family stands bound to set up an *Inquisition Court* touching this matter. And surely when the truth of this matter, touching the *improvement of peace* is found out, and well looked upon by every man in the Assemblies of God, then there will be a *bitter mourning*; the eye will break the heart; *All the land shall mourne, and every family apart*; (for) alas, alas, *Peace* is taken from the earth before the Inhabitants understand what use was to be made of such a comprehensive blessing: yet had they 89. years and more to consider of it, but the more time, the more unfit for consideration: and my *peace* (every man must come home to himselfe) my *peace* is continued to a wonderment; and what use, what improvement have I made thereof? It is sadly to be inquired into, for if I have not improved my peace I have had at such a time as this, I cannot expect that this can be continued to me as a mercy; much lesse, that there can be an *increase* of this peace, and a confirmation of it to me from Gods hand. These questions are of infinite use, therefore I will looke them over again, and contract them, that they may fix the better in the memory: Reader, you and I are of one minde, we would have Peace: Let us aske our selves over again these few questions; 1. What have we done with all our Peace? A Peace of the greatest antiquity that ever any Church (of God) had upon the face of the earth? Let me expresse it so, a peace 99. years old; what have we done with all this Peace? 2. What with our Peace these 27. years, all which time, *Germany* lay in blood, their Cities, and Townes wasted, made so many Church-yards, or places for sculls? what with these 27. years peace? 3. What with these three years Peace? All which time *Ireland* has lain under the *forest Plagues*, wilde beasts devoured them; famine has eat up; pestilence has consumed a thousand thousand soules there; what have we done with this three years peace? 4. And what with our *Peace* these two years and three moneths? All which time, this our Kingdom has layen as a *wilde Bull in a net*, full of the fury of the Lord, the rebuke of our God; what have we in *London*, and the Associated Countreys, what have we done with our peace, and at such a time? Let us betwixt God and our soules aske, and answer these questions, before we shew our selves such eager

Alas

Ezra 58.
20.

Ezra 4. 17

Psal. 28.

11.

Petitioners after Peace: And if we cannot give clear answer here touching our improvement of Peace; then oh that we could be exceedingly humbled, for though we may have Peace in the Church's Peace, yet our Peace will be a wofull Peace to us, who are not humbled for the abuse of Peace. God *blesteth His people with Peace*: It is a blessing to them only, and in that blessing we may be blessed for a time, but the end will be wofull, and so I proceed with a *trembling pen* to enquire, *of whom we aske peace?*

1. Whether we do not aske peace at their hands, who cannot give it though they would; though they are great men and in high places, willing and ready with all their hearts, to pleasure us touching that matter, yet they cannot, for they are but men.

2. Whether we do not aske it at their hand, who will not give it though they could, being enemies to God, His and their own peace: I pray you let us wisely inquire into, and consider on these matters.

1. We aske Peace, of whom do we aske it? Yee *Lords and Commons give us Peace*; I thought so, and I know they would with all their hearts and all their souls; if *Peace* were in their hands, and at their dispose, we should have it before the sun sets this Winter day: But let it be enquired whether we knock not at the wrong door? And aske help where it is not to be had, just as the hunger starved woman did cry in a strait siege, so do we cry, help *O Lords and Commons*; we can have no other answer from them now, but what the woman had from her Lord: if the Lord do not help you, whence should we help you? By our Counsells, or by our strength? Certainly it is as preposterous every whit to seek Peace at mans hand, as it is to seek health at the Physicians hand; King *Asa* did so, but it was his disease indeed, even *that seeking*, and so he died of it, and not of his disease in his feet, for that was far enough from his heart; it was his heart-confidence in the Physician, that killed him. It must be sadly inquired into, whether we knock at the right door? whether we aske and seek peace at their hands, who can give it? for though here is no resolution upon this question, yet I will conclude, That peace will never be had while the world stands, nor when it is fallen neither, till we knock, and knock hard, and at the true door; till we aske and seek it where it is to be had, where the seed of *Jacob* never sought in vaine: *He hear what God the Lord will speake*: for *He will speake peace to his people*. So now the Church is resolved upon the first question, she will take a right way, and knock at the right door: I enquire,

2. Whe-

2. Whether we doe not ask Peate at their hands, who will not give it, if they had it to give, no, will not, while the World stands? If we ask Peace of them, who are *Aliens from the common wealth of Israel*, and strangers to the peace thereof, enemies to God, and his Churches peace, their own peace also: If we doe expect peace from such, we may expect till our eyes faile, and ask till our lungs are spent, and yet no peace. Peace! 1. They have no Peace to give, unless such a Peace as is worse then War: *There is no Peace unto the wicked.* Are we sure of that? Yes, *saith the Lord*; Will not we believe Him? *There is no Peace, saith the Lord, unto the wicked.* Wicked, bloody, and mischievous men, who have taken Peace from the Earth: Will we ask these men Peace? They have shed blood as they could, in the roare and rage of their wrath, reaching up to Heaven: so they have slain the righteous, so they have persecuted godly men; And doe we ask these men, saying, *Give us Peace?* They are themselves mad with rage, and so are they like the *raging Sea*: They have shed the blood of the Righteous, and the Lord hath *barrells and runs* for this blood, as he hath *bowles* for his servants teares. And this blood cries to Heaven; and as the Lord is a just Judge of all the World, He must heare and avenge it; He must *cause to come upon the heads of those murderers all the Righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of Righteous Abel, unto the blood of Zacharias*, and so upward unto this day. And doe we ask these men, saying, *Give us Peace?* Men of bloods, and children of wrath, to whom is reserved the *blacknesse of darknesse* for ever? Surely, surely, they have no Peace to give. But the time shall come, *saith the Lord*, when their destruction cometh, that they themselves shall seek Peace: And behold, *no Peace, but mourning, and a clowthing with desolation and trouble*: for the Lord will doe unto them *after their way*, And according to their deserts, *saith the Lord*, will I judge them. I'll enquire no more; but conclude, that Enemies to God, and good men, have no Peace to give. But 2. If they had Peace, as they call Peace, to give, they would never give it us, no, never. Why? They have done all they can doe, according to the power in their hands, to take Peace from the Earth: Can we imagine, that they would, if they could, give it back again? Surely, to ask those men, *Give us Peace*, is, as if our dearest Brethren of Scotland, foure yeares agoe, should have asked the Bishops to give them Peace: Or as if the poore sheep should ask the wolves to give them Peace: Or as if the poore, pecked, persecuted people, servants of the High God, in Ireland, *slain all the day long* there,

Esa. 48. 22.

Mat. 23.
35.

Ezech. 7.
25, 26.

there, should ask those murderers there, and here, *to give them Peace?* They will never give it. Possible it is, nay very likely, that some overtures they might make that way, shewes and semblances of Peace, but War is in their hearts all the while; And now, if they talk of *giving Peace*, then expect destruction upon destruction, mischief to come upon mischief, rumour upon rumour: This you must expect, when we heare, that Enemies to God, Haters of His peace, and the peace of His people, when they talk of making peace; then you must make account, as aforesaid, that these Enemies pretend Peace, but intend only to make strong the hand of violence, the better to carry on their War, and strength of Battell. I will make clearer demonstration of all this from two notable Examples registred in the Chronicles of God; whereby we shall learn how vain all Treaties of Peace are with this Generation of men, who stand as crosse-centred to God and His Christ, as Earth is to Heaven; and at as wide a distance from God, and His peoples peace, as stand the two Poles North and South. In both these stories we shall observe a Treaty for a Peace, caried on in a most remarkable manner, and in as eager a pursuit after Peace as is imaginable, and yet effected nothing, when all was done. But I would first note, for my own learning, That the people of God, after some experience had first of the nature and intentment of wicked men, would never treat or parley with them about Peace. *Nehemiah*, with his companions, would not hearken what the enemies of God said, though they offered him faire, that they would help to build Jerusalems walls, be as serviceable that way in point of edification, and promoting of the Work we call *Reforming*, as any other of Gods professed and faithfull servants could be: These adversaries and enemies to Jerusalems peace said so much, but *Nehemiah* scarce gave any care unto them; or, if he did, he regarded their words no more, than the Shepherds regarded the Ambassie of the Wolves, That the *Shepherds should yield up their Dogs*. *Nehemiah* knew they were Enemies, and would doe like Enemies, and Adversaries to *Judah*, and could doe nothing but disservice at Jerusalems walls. I could not but note this by the way. I come now to consider the two Treaties of Peace. The first Treatie:

2 Chron.
12, 13.

I. Betwixt *Abijah* and *Jeroboam*: He treats with *Jeroboam*; for indeed *Jeroboam* did scorn to treat with him, or so much as to acknowledge him worthy, or to have any Regall power in his hands: whereas indeed *Abijah* might have put the same scorn upon him, and justly, though yet
Gods

Gods pleasure was so, that a servant to his lusts should rule over men for a time, as a just plague unto them, as all Idolaters are to their people. *Abijah* doth not stand upon termes: He treats with *Ieroboam*; and truly, as may appeare through the whole story, *Abijah* treats with a full respect to *Ieroboams* peace and prosperitie; for though he stood upon some disadvantage in respect of men, yet his standing was sure enough, for God stood on his side; And if God stands with a man, he stands as a figure put to cyphers, he stands for all: Yet *Abijah* treats with *Ieroboam*, though (I say again) he had little cause so to doe, for he had troubled his Fathers peace all his dayes, and would have been as injurious to the Son. Notwithstanding all this, *Abijah* treats with *Ieroboam*: The Treaty begins, and it is for Peace, That weapons of death might be laid down, the Sword might rest and be still; That War might be hushed, *Fight not*. There are the words. The Arguments he useth, are three: And surely, had not *Ieroboam* been belotted, had he not blundered as a man in the dark, had he not been infinitely proud, and as confident, as all Idolaters are, trusting in their numbers, and fidelity of their servants; So it will appeare anon: Had it not been so with *Ieroboam*, he had been advised and perswaded to have desisted and withdrawn his hand, and his men, and so have returned in Peace. I shall be the larger upon the Arguments, and the more earnestly beg your attention, because I conceive them to afford us the compleatest pattern whereby to draw up a Treaty for Peace, that ever was heard of in the world: It is true, they prevailed not with *Ieroboam*, for his ear was shut, God had made his grave, for he was vile; and he must fall in anon, for now his day was come: But it was not possible to use more commanding Arguments then *Abijah* did; nor was it possible, but he must have prevailed, but that *Ieroboam* was an abominable Idolater, his heart turned quite away from God. We will heare the Arguments; they are three, drawn *ab Impossibili, ab Absurdo, ob Incommodo*, to these in order:

I. *Ab Impossibili*: So *Abijah* reasons the case: What an impossible work hast thou taken in hand to manage now? Like his, who would command the Tide to stand still, would bind up the Sea in fetters, chain the mountains, cut his way through those depths and mighty foundations. Thou wilt drive on furiously against me: It is not against me, it is against God, to fight against Him, thy great Lord, and mine; and then, if thou wilt, gird up thy loynes: Consider it, weigh it well, *Art thou stronger then He? Hast thou an arme like God?* Poor man! This Lord

God hath a thousand wayes to crush such a worm as thou art to peeces, more easily than thou canst a worm under thy feet. Let the Potshards of the Earth strive with Potshards there, men with men; let them not be so foole-hardy as to strive with God; *They that strive with Him shall perish*; He hath decked himselfe with Majesty and Excellencie, He is arrayed with glory and beauty; He casteth abroad the rage of His wrath upon proud men, and abaseth them; He treads down the wicked in their places. Remember this, and then thou wilt remember the battell, and doe no more so; not fight against the Lord. 2. Thou art perswaded now in thy heart, that thou canst dethrone David, take off his Crown from his head: Poore man! how hath a deceived heart beguiled thee? This is as impossible as the former, To fight with God, and overcome Him: for know this for thy good, That this Kingdome over Judah is Davids for ever, given unto David and unto his sons, by a covenant of salt; and given unto David by his Lord and God: He set the Crown on Davids head, and hath said, *It shall stand upon his Sons head fast*, and established for ever. Whatever our deluded hearts may suggest, yet the truth is, The Lord never repents of what He hath given to David, or Davids son, or his sons sons; never withdrawes His hand or His heart from them: Therefore whatever the Lord hath said or done touching those Sons and Daughters, are called *the sure mercies of David*. 3. Thou hast rebelled against the Lord, and art stubbornly resolved to continue in thy rebellion. As sure as thou hast so done, and the Lord ever liveth, and loveth David and his Sons, so sure thou shalt be broken, and broken all to peeces, as an earthen vessell, or as a wave against a rock. It is impossible it should be otherwise: What? fight against God, and David the Prince, to pluck his Crown from his head, and think to prosper? It is impossible. 4. Thou thinkest thou canst overcome Judah: It is impossible, unlesse thou canst think to overcome Judahs God first. This is Abijahs first Argument. His second is the very same: but yet, for distinction sake, and the understanding of the simple, I would rather say it is taken,

II. *Ab Absurdo*. Why, *Ierobbam*, Thou dost take the absurdest course that ever any man took, cleare crosse to sense and reason; but the most ready and compendious way to undo thy selfe, and ruine thy Kingdome. Thou art now come out to fight: Wherein is thy confidence? He answer according to the vanitie of thy own heart; In thy strength, sure, and in thy numbers: Thou hast two for one, eight hundred thousand chosen, mighty men of valour, all: There is *Solomons* foolles confidence;

A foolish confidence indeed : All these are but as so many cyphers in the wars against Judah, while Judah keeps with his God : And if thy reason had not forsaken thee, This, 1. Thou wouldst weigh and ponder with thy selfe, That as thy multitudes, and their valour, are considerable; so also what manner of men they are, that's more considerable : What manner of men are they? *Vain men*, and men that have cast away Gods cords, broken His bands, *Children of Belial* all. What an absurd conceit is this now, to think that God will give these men victory over Judah, (over us the tribe of Judah) specially at this time, now, when we have quitted our selves so like men, keeping close to our Lord God, (that is first) And every man close to the charge of his God in point of worship, with reference unto choice persons and officers; and with chief care also, that all these keep close up every man to the charge of his God: What an absurd conceit is this now, That thou, with thy multitudes of *vain men, and children of Belial*, who have done all ye can doe most crosse to God and the charge of His house; How absurd to think that thou canst overcome the children of Judah, a select and choice people, whom God hath chosen for Himselfe? 3. Thou dost expect a salvation now, somewhat more than horses can bring unto thee, for they are flesh; more than thy men can work out, for they are not gods : Whence canst thou expect salvation? Thou sayst, from thy gods : An *absurd conceit* ! Ile say *abominable* rather : Surely from God are salvations; from gods, in the plurall number, none at all. The voyce of Nature cries out against this : If Nature be vexed, if some sudden and grievous *accident* hath befallen a man, he will cry out, *O God*, never *O gods* : As when the Prophet would describe an evill, that had in it the ingredients of all evill, he calls it *an evill*, *an only evill* : so if you will describe a *good*, that hath in it all good, you must call it an *only good*, and that is God alone : *Thou Lord only* makest me, &c. Thou *only* art my Rock, &c. by Thee *only* will we, &c. This is first to be considered. 2. What are thy gods? Calves they are, and so they shall be called to the worlds end. An absurd, yes, and an abominable conceit, to expect salvation from Calves. Knowledge and Councell is for the War : Of whom wilt thou learn it? The Priests mouth should preserve knowledge, from them thou shouldst take counsell. But what manner of men are thy Priests? Are they any other than what their gods are? Their gods are Calves, and thy Priests are no better : What an absurd conceit is this, That thou canst overcome us? It is, as if thou shouldst be perswaded, that a com-

*O Deus, non
Dii. Morn.
Ezek. 7. 5.*

vers. 9.

pany of Calves should overcome an Army of Lions. Consider thy selfe, he that fights with Judah, keeping to God and His charge, in point of Worship, as we doe, fights with a company of Lions, yea, and with the Lion of the Tribe of Judah, the Lord Christ himselfe. What an absurd thing is this, to think of victory? It is as if thou shouldst think to overcome an army of Lions with an army of Calves. 5. Now thou art in the field come out to fight, thou wouldest have some prayers put up for thee, some to wish thee *prosperitie in the name of the Lord*: I know thou wouldest: Whom hast thou to pray for thee? What? thy Priests? What an absurd conceit is that? Thy Priests are but as so many Calves: The Lord will heare their cry, no more than He does the cry of the Calves in the field, or the Fowles of heaven, to give them their meat and their fodder; And these mercies of meat and drink shall set upon their score too, and aggravate their judgement. The Lord never heares such Priests to give them any thing with a blessing with it, much lesse to give them victory over Judah. No, no, The Lord heares the prayers of His Priests, who keep His charge; their prayers He heares; And these are all against thee, and thy prosperitie in the wars: And all the reason in the world it should be so; for thou hast hunted them like a Partridge upon the mountains, and where-ever thou couldst find them, thou didst reach forth thy roughest hand against them, and *hast cast out the Priests of the Lord*. And now thou hast not one prayer in all the world for thy prosperitie, (and that is carried on upon the wing of Prayer, as upon Eagles wings) What an absurd conceit then is this, and how bottomlesse, That thou canst prosper. Ile tell thee again, there is not one prayer in all the world now put up by the *Priests and People* of the Lord, which does not cry down wrath and vengeance upon thy Armies, all thy helpers, thy Souldiers, thy Priests, and thy gods; and all these proud helpers shall stoope under these prayers, for they have prevailed with God never to withdraw His anger from such *vile men*, Priests, and gods: What an absurd conceit is it, I should say, how impossible, That thou shouldst prosper? *Ye have forsaken the Lord*, you and your Souldiers, Priests and people; *Ye have forsaken the Lord*: What an absurd thing is this, that thou shouldst prosper? The Lord will be a moth to thy Armies, He will consume thy strength, and will be as a Lion to thee and thy Priests, and thy people; He will teare you to pieces, and goe his way. Why? *Ye have forsaken the Lord*, He will forsake you, He will leave you to the protection of your gods, which cannot protect themselves;

selves; And when He goes away, He takes all prosperity away with Him: A most absurd conceit it is, to think that thou canst prosper: In that word lieth the force of *Abijahs* last Argument taken,

III. *Ab Incommodo: Thou shalt not prosper.* There is more to be understood than is spoken; more damage in it than barely a *non-prosperity* as I may say; *you shall not prosper*, you shall be utterly confounded, broken to pieces as a Potterrs vessel, unless: thou canst be too hard for God; unless thou canst pluck off the Crown from off the son of *Dauids* Head, the Lord; unless thou canst with thy *vile men*, and sons of *Belial* overcome *Judah*, the most precious and honourable men in all the world; unless thou canst with a company of Calves overcome Lions, yea the Lion of the tribe of *Judah* too; unless thou canst prevaile without counsell, and without prayer; unless thou canst bear up stoutly under the curse of the Almighty, which all the faithfull in all the world, will pray down upon thee; certainly thou shalt never prevaile, no never: but mischief after mischief, shall follow thee; breach upon breach, till thou and thy men, thy Priests, and thy gods, are all broken to pieces, and the stones of emptinesse stretched over you. In this lieth the strength of *Abijahs* last argument, with which he concludes; *You shall not prosper.* And now behold a wonder: *Jeroboam* is moved with none of all this: Nay, it does not appear, he did regard it or hearken to it, he or his men, or his Priests, unless with scorne, flouting, and jeering at it; I would enquire here, what might make him and his Princes so foolhardy? Doubtlesse their multitudes, and their valour; for all that is in sight; but let me adde this to the other two, the *fidelity* and faithfulness of his men; the Kings confidence was therein also: He knew they were all right men for his service; they would drive on furiously as he did, they would not forsake him nor his trust. *Jeroboam* was sure of this; truly reading the Chronicles of God, and the Church book of dayes, and the Churches wars there, I have stood still a little, and vvondred that I never observed, that an Idolatrous King had any untrusty, false and unfaithfull servants, who would betray him, his Castles, or his Forts: I know they be all false, and unfaithfull wretches all, but not unto the Idolater their master, nor one. And I have satisfied my self pretty well at that point. Why? It is with an Idolater, as it is with the Devill his Lord and master; look ye all over the world if you can, you shall not finde that the devill has one false servant there, treacherous or unfaithfull to him, and his charge, not one; for though they be all false and faithlesse;

2 Chron.
13. 13.

Verf. 9.

yet not so to the Devill their Lord and Master; indeed if they were, the devill would not endure them, they should not be his servants: and he has mighty reason for that, for if they were false and treacherous to him, they would help to destroy his Kingdom, and that the Devill their master will not endure. Certain it is *Ieroboam* put the greatest part of his confidence in the faithfulness of his men, for none so faithfull as they in their manner, Idolaters I mean, are to their Lords. To look over what was said; I have declared here what *Abijah* said, and the strength of his arguments perswading *Ieroboam* to hearken unto a Treaty of Peace: I cannot tell what *Ieroboam* answered; *no body* sure knowes that: But you may perceive his Answer by his deeds or handy worke: *Abijah* spake all for *Ieroboams* peace, and *Ieroboam* was all for war; and takes a notable advantage during the very time of the Treaty for Peace; and his own prosperity; at that time even then thus it was: *But Ieroboam caused an ambusment to come about behinde them, so they were before Judah, and the ambusment was behinde them.* And when *Abijah* had done treating, he with *Judah* looked back; and behold the battell was before and behinde. This commands our mark, and due observation, for here we have the manner of *Idolaters*; while *Judah* was treating about Peace with *Ieroboam*, then was *Ieroboam* with his people, plotting and contriving the most compendious way, how to bring ruine and an utter destruction upon all *Judah*: And had not *Judahs* God come in at that point of time (as His manner is) His people had been quite swallowed up with vvar, vvhile they vvere treating about Peace? surely *Abijah* did not vvell consider the manner of the King, his Priests and people, with whom he treated; That the King was an abominable Idolater, one that lifted up his soul to lying vanities; his souldiers *vain men all, and sons of Belial*; his gods no other but calves; his Priests no better: surely no better nor other result could be expected from such a Treaty, with such a master, who hearkned unto lies; with such servants, who were all wicked, the sons of *Belial* all; from such Priests, who were no better than *heathen*, yet fit enough for the gods they sacrificed unto, *golden calves*, no better could be expected from these: But now the Lord will take the matter into His own hand: *Ieroboam* thought of war, while *Abijah* treated about Peace, and *Ieroboams* own prosperity: This the Lord observes, and makes it the determinating sin: *Iehoram* would fight against the Lord: so he did alwayes, but at this time he would have shed the blood of war during the Treaty for Peace; he despised the words of
Abi-

Abijah: he trusted in oppression, and perversnesse, and stayed thereon: Therefore this iniquity shall finde him out, and his breaking shall be as the breaking of the potters vessell. Nowv the Lord vvill fight both against small and great, but chiefly and first of all against the King; he is the chief alvvayes, and first in Rebellion; he comes vvith his traine after him, makes all *Israel* to sin: The Lord vvill deale vvith him first: so it was, God smote *Ieroboam*, sayes the Text: But *Ieroboam* lives yet, to see his strength moulder avvay, and his Cities taken: The Lord strengthens the hand of his servant *Abijah* to pursue *Ieroboam*: And he took from him Cities and Towns, he vveakned him so, that he never recovered strength again; God vvill make an end of the vvar, and put an everlasting period to *Ieroboams* peace, he dispised an offer of Peace even novv, he shal never hear a vvord of peace any more: The Lord stroke him with a deadly stroke, and he died. And surely the Lord hath taught all *Israels* Kings, and Princes novv to hearken after peace vvithall their ears vvide open: And He hath taught the people of *Judah* novv, never any more to treat for Peace, with Idolatrous Princes or people; for if so be Arguments could prevaile with such persons, then these had prevailed. The wit of men, nay the Spirit of God, I speak it with all reverence, could not have suggested stronger Arguments, whereby to prevaile touching that matter. Consider the matter once more, had *Abijah*, treating with *Ieroboam* for peace, demanded of him to give up his *vain men*, and sons of *Belial* to be tried by the Laws of *Judah*, though it had been but reasonable, yet it had been absurd and ridiculous in *Ieroboams* eare, and in the eares of all his Priests and people; And indeed, in point of honour he could not have yielded: for vain, and wicked, though they were, yet they were *Ieroboams* faithfull servants; and were resolved to shed *Judahs* blood, according to the power in their hands; and that vvvas to *Ieroboams* heart; and for that end, to satisfie their Masters vvraith against *Dauids* house, they vvvere resolved to live and die vvith their Master, and his Calves; *Ieroboam* could not then yield them up in point of honour. Or if *Abijah* had demanded of *Ieroboam* the giving up his calves, that they might be stamped to powder, then throwne into the vvater, because they had made *Israel* naked; *Ieroboam* could not have yielded here neither: for Calves though they vvvere, yet they were his gods: The truth is, never did any man before *Abijah*, nor can any man after him, treat with a Prince touching peace, vvith more fitting, more plausible, more substantiall, more prevailing Arguments, then here *Abijah* did, and yet he prevailed not. Therefore this Scripture hath drawn forth a conclusion,

and

Vers. 15.

and now holds it forth to all the world unto the worlds end: That, though it might be lawfull for *Judah* to treat vvith Idolatrous *Israel*, at that time, yet it is not so warrantable for *Judah* now so to doe, observing well the successe of that Treaty; for sure it is written for after-ages. But if it be lawfull and expedient too, for reasons of State, so to doe; yet the Scripture will hold forth the fruitlesse of such a Treaty to the worlds end. Why? certain it is, Idolaters are not in a capacite for Peace, or treating about it: remaining Idolaters, they must prosecute their way, in persecuting of *David* and his house. They must be brought off from their Idolatry first, by the Arguments *Abijah* useth, else no treating with them to bring them to the wayes of Peace: Though there should be a Treaty holding on to the worlds end, yet it would be to no end; no prevailing with Idolaters, enemies to God, adversaries to *Judah*. We shall see the truth hereof more hold out and confirmed by some observations, The Spirit of God sets upon another Treaty for Peace, carried on by *Hezekiah* King of *Judah*, with *Senacherib* King of *Assyria*. Thus we read in the story.

2 King. 18.
v. 13.

II. That *Senacherib* had carried away *Samaria*, with all her Idolatries: And now he drives on furiously towards *Judah*, the fenced Cities there, and took them. King *Hezekiah* is afraid of a man in shape, and had cast off that Image: such a man, (that was *Hezekiahs* fault, and the best mens fault many times) So King *Hezekiah* sent Ambassadors to the King of *Assyria*, saying, I have offended.

Ah Lord! what had King *Hezekiah* done, wherein had he offended? An Infidel King, an enemy to God and all goodnes, that King here had offended both God, & the King of *Judah*, and not *Hezekiah*, unlesse in demeaning himselfe so submissively before a brutish man: Surely *Hezekiah* offended here; and more yet he will offend; For heare him what he sayes, by the mouth of his servants, selected men to treat with the King and his Princes, *Returne from me*, (i. e. Withdraw thy men from storming Gods cities) *And what thou puttest upon me I will beare*. Will the servant of the Lord say so? Then let him make his shoulders strong, and yet not strong enough for his burdens, for he shall have load enough laid upon him by an Infidel, a brutish man, a man that hateth *Judah*, and envies the prosperitie thereof: will he beare what a brutish King will lay upon him? He cannot be able to stand under the burdens which the enemies of God, and *Judahs* adversaries will lay upon his shoulders: And yet the King of *Judah* sayes, *Lay upon me what thou wilt*, I

will beare it. See and heare what a good man will doe and say against himselfe when feare hath surprized his heart. But blessed be *Hezekiah* his God, He will moderate there; and yet the burden shall be heavy enough, to teach *Judah*, while the world stands, never to yeeld up their neck or shoulder to a brutish man; for, as bruite creatures, he cannot put forth his strength by knowledge, nor knowes he how to suspend his actions, or call them back: Surely *Judah* did never after this day yeeld their necks and shoulders to a brutish King, that he might put on them what waight he would, and they *would beare it*. But so it was now, the word was gone out, and *Judahs* servants were gone along with the messageto *Lachish*, where the Infidel was. How these Messengers from *Judah* were entertained at *Lachish*, I cannot well tell: But I think the Scripture gives us some intimation touching that matter, That *Judahs* Messengers were entertained after a very inhumane and barbarous manner, Infidel like, just as it must be expected from Infidels, unlesse *Judah* will have their expectation frustrate: The Messengers were scorned and jeered at, and so they returned a little wiser then when they went forth, for they were *ashamed*. And they bring with them the demand from the *King of Assyria*, which he will lay as a burden upon *Hezekiah* his shoulders, and hath promised to beare, *three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold*: A great weight: But *Hezekiah* had promised to beare it, and beare it he must, and so he will; and now he pillageth his own house, and Gods house with his own hands; He deales after a strange manner: But the feare of man hath possessed his heart, and the great God is not full in his eye: He hath taken all the silver and gold he could scrape together, which lay loose in Gods house, or in his own, but all was too light; the Infidel will have full weight according to his demand, he will not bate him a pound: and this *Hezekiah* knew well: Then He cut off the gold from the doors and pillars of the Temple, which he himselfe had overlaid, and gave it to the *King of Assyria*, by the hands of his Messengers; And away they are posted, for they hasted after a Peace of the Infidels giving, well spaid no doubt; and perswaded verily now, that they should stop the mouth of the *Cormorant* with such sweet bits, and bind his hands with fetters of gold. Now observe the strangest affront that ever was offered to *Judah* upwards unto this day; and yet not so strange, if we doe consider that he was a brutish King, with whom *Judah* treated. Enquire we first of the sacred Scriptures, how were these Ambassadors intreated? The Scripture makes answer, so as it

2 King.
18.14.

2 King.
18.16.

Isa. 33-7.

vexed and grieved them to the very heart : *They wept bitterly*, saith the Text. Alas ! they treat for Peace ; There is no hope of Peace : *The high wayes lie waste*, and so they must lie yet longer ; *The way-faring man ceaseth*, i.e. you may travell 20 miles, and not see a man once to peep out his head all along ; the robbers and spoilers are every where. [O Lord pittie *Judahs* Land, thine own Land, where war is, and the sword in an Infidels hand.] And now *Judah* hoped, bringing silver and gold in their hands, to buy their Peace ; for there was some promise and overture that way, from their adversaries the Infidels : but the Ambassadors found they were but words ; He with whom they treat, breaks all covenants, *despiseth the Cities, and regardeth no man* ; yet he does regard the silver and gold, all that which could strengthen his hand against *Judah* ; He regards that, and nothing else that the Infidel regards, neither the God of *Judah*, nor the Cities of *Judah*, nor the men of *Judah*, And yet he takes the silver and gold ; As notable a peece of injustice as ever was heard of in the world to this day : Mark it, He takes the silver and gold with one hand, and with the other hand he points his sword to *Judahs* throat : So it was, the Scripture is cleare ; I will not speak a word without the Book : *Sennacherib* receives the money, and sent his robbers and spoilers, *Tartan, Rabsharis, and Rabshakab, from Lachish to King Hezekiah with a great Host*. Look ye what becomes of *Judahs* Treaty for Peace from the hands of a Heathen people : Here is an infinite treasure spent, of spirits, of time, of money, all spent ; And what is returned in stead of all this ? *A great Host against Judah*. Ah Lord ! I inquire againe, why would the Lord suffer his good and faithfull servant to seek conditions of Peace from a brutish King ? Why to treat so submissively, *I have offended* ; when it was his sinne, his infirmite at least, to speak at all ? Why suffered He His pretious servant to humble his neck unto such a Prince, and to bend his knee, to take upon him the burden which a brutish man will lay upon him ? And then bribe forth a Peace with him, against whom *Hezekiah* should have maintained a defensive war for ever ? Why would the Lord suffer all this ? Surely He suffered that evill, thereout to bring good unto *Judah*, and to make his Posteritie the wiser by this folly for ever : whatever we doe, the Lord doth nothing in vaine, nor suffers to be done : The Lord hath taught His people now, to say to the Lord, *I have offended* ; to say, *It is the Lord, let him doe what He will* ; lay upon me what He pleaseth, *I will beare it* : To send Ambassadors to heaven, Prayers thither in the name of *Christ, an Advocate with the Father*, where Prayer

cannot

2 King. 18.
27.

cannot miscary. To intreat for Peace, where it is to be had, at Gods Hand, from whose face, His Ambassadors never returned ashamed, as they have done from the faces of Brutish men, at that time, and shall do at all times, while the world stands. 2. To teach Judah then and evermore, not to yeeld a foot in Gods land, or of Gods matters to a wicked Prince: for he that yeelds to day, must yeeld to morrow: a little to day, and more anon, till all be yeelded that is in their houses, and Lords house also; And yet the King, he cannot be satisfied, till he is made Drunk with Judahs blood, which he thirsteth after. Blessed be God, who left His good servant to his own hands, and then to joyn hands with an Infidell; this hath made Judah the wiser from that day upward, and for ever.

I cannot break of so, for now the Treaty begins; for if you observe the story, The *Commissioners* for Peace meet now; on the Brutish Kings side (for so I must distinguish them) *Commissioners* like himself, *Tartan*, *Rab-Jaris*, and *Rabshakah*; on Judahs side, *Eliakin*, *Shebna*, and *Joah*; *Rabshakah* was as his Masters right hand, a right man for his service, and the mouth of them all, which he had filled with blasphemies, and so he was the fittest to be the speaker, for his mouth was so full of blasphemies, and he delivered them forth with so little grace, that he is become a proverb to this day; He is a *Rabshakah* say we, if he be a Rayler or Blasphemer; *Rabshakah* was both, the Kings Speaker at that time sent from the Parliament at *Lachish*, where were assembled, the most horrible Blasphemers, that ever were heard of up to this very day: But *Rabshakah*, the chiefe of them all.

And now that we have heard the manner of the Commissioners, who their Master is, and who is the Speaker, now the Reader can tell himself without the book, how the Treaty went on, therefore I may save my self and the Reader a labour, onely note these three words, for I will make it very short. 1. That this Blasphemer chargeth Judah her King, and people with the same blasphemyes, he and his Master stand charged with all; for which they shall pay dearly anon: he calls them by *his own name*, Rebels, and Traytours, all after the manner as our Robbers and Traytors use to do, now adayes. 2. What ever King, and people did for their God, and His worship, to purge and purify it, all this he chargeth against them: Well, To make a great, and large use of this in a few words, Let Judah do like Judah, their duty heartily in point of Gods worship: Then they may go on in the clearest and strength of their duties, as bold as are Lions, under the look, and before the faces of their adversaries, and

not be ashamed nor dismayed : They have done their duty , and cannot be afraid of the *Lions den*, nor *mountaines of Leopards*. 3. The Blasphemer tells *Judah*, That the Lord said to him , *goe up against Judah, and destroy it*. Note what *Rabshekah* saith, That his Masters horrible iniquity and wrong hath Gods stamp upon it ; His command and charge ; that is pretended : Well, let *Judahs* God alone with that : as sure as He is God, He will avenge it ; He will maintain the honour of His Name according to the excellencie of His Power and Goodnesse. 4. Let this be noted too, That while *Rabshekah* was roaring, and raging, and blaspheming *Judah*, and her God , *Judahs* Commissioners intreated a favour of him, That he would speak to his servants (meaning themselves) in the *Syrian tongue*, and not in the *Jewes language* ; for that would discomfit their people. Discomfit *Judah* ! Simple men ! (indeed *Judahs* servants are such : they have bowels of mercy , and they think Infidels have the same bowels also, when they are more cruell then Dragons.) Discomfit *Judah* ! Why, it was the very purpose and full intendment of *Rabshekahs* words all along , to discomfit *Judahs* people , and take from them their heart. Mark now , what *Rabshekah* doth now , when *Judahs* Commissioners would obtaine a favour from him ; how he lifteth up his voice , and roareth : If *Judahs* people will be afraid and tremble at the voice of a *Rabshekah*, they shall tremble , till their hearts sink within them, and die. Now you have noted this, make this use of it ; Never to expect a favour from an Enemy, much lesse from a *Rabshekah* : If you ask him bread, he will give you a stone ; if a fish, he will give you a serpent ; if an imbracement or a salute from him, he will strike you to the heart. I should note the blasphemies , or the foolcs-confidencies, for that is observable all along to the end of the Chapter : But that is noted already , and is every mans observation. I will take leave now, for my own satisfaction, to inquire again, wherefore the Lord suffers this Heathen King to come so neare his own City, *Ierusalem*, the glory of the world : I will , by the grace of God, inquire into this ; and then I have done. Surely there are Reasons for this in sight, which we stand charged to take notice of.

I. We find King *Hezekiah* yielding , and yielding, and sending away to his Enemy at *Lachish* : and when he had not of his own, he borrowed of his Lords house. Now *Hezekiah* shall know , that all his yieldings have rendred his Adversaries and Enemies more stiff, stout, and violent ; He will not be satisfied with all , and more then all. King *Hezekiah* and his people thought now to have satisfied *Senacharib* by yielding , and so

*Ab ir. is f
tax p. c. i. u. r.
angeur o-
dium.*

to still the *Enemy and Avenger*. No, they kindle his rage the more by yielding; and *Judah* shall see now, that *Senacharib* cannot be satisfied, unless they yield up themselves into his hands, their holy City, their Gods house there, yea and God himfelfe, at least that which God accounts his Glory, and the Glory of *Judahs* Kingdome.

*2 Kin. 19.
36.*

II. That *Hezekiah* might see now what became of his petitions and supplications to an Heathen King, (for his words were supplications :) God taught him two excellent lessons from thence; 1. Not to speak supplications in the eares of an Heathen people, who blaspheme the God of Heaven. Supplications, said I! Nay, no answer at all, not from *Judah*, unto such Heathen Princes: Answer him *n. t.* 2. *Hezekiah* was taught now to put up his supplications unto God, To beg Peace of Him, and salvation to his Land. Surely from that very time God established his Decree with *Judah*, That they and their King shall put up their *Petitions* for *Judahs* Peace, to *Judahs* God only: And see how earnest King *Hezekiah* is upon that duty, now that he is beaten unto it: He speaks to his Commissioners, his Priests too, his good Prophets also, saying, *Pray, pray, pray*: Prayer must doe the work, It is in vain to petition man; *Pray, pray, pray* to the God of Heaven, King of Peace; To Him that bringeth into straits, and delivereth out of them againe; *Pray* to Him, and I will pray also; He spread the Infidels letters, with all his Commissioners blasphemies, before my God, who is blasphemed this day. So *Hezekiah* is taught at last, and so he doth. And now behold a marvellous work; Now the God of *Judah* will exalt His hand, even His right hand, That shall have the prehemipence; The Heathen people shall know whom they have blasphemed.

III. God must have glory from Heathen people, Gentiles as well as from the *Israelites*: He must be glorified by the very blasphemies of the wicked, though not so much as by the praises of the good: now the Lord will get himself a name over his adversaries; And that his right hand may have the prehemipence in all the peoples sight; He will suffer the adversaries to come into his holy land; He will give them fair hopes that his enemies shall take the holy City, and swallow up the righteous there. And when he hath his hopes in his hand, and victory in his mouth, then at that time, and not till then, the adversary shall find, that the Lord has a hook in his nostrils, & a bridle in his mouth, of the Lords putting in there;

there ; and now that he is at the height of his rage, the Lord checks the bridle, puls the hook, and away he sends these Bruites into their own quarters : Then *Judah* recovered their *treasure* with a great addition of the spoile of *Senacharibs* camp : And what the Lord hath done to that King and his men, is upon everlasting record, as a monument of Gods wrath upon *Judahs* adversaries, such as will blaspheme *Judahs* God : And a monument of praise to *Judah* too, even to praise their God, and to live unto His praise for ever : Walking on in the name of the Lord valiantly, and with courage in the cleanness and strength of their duties, which they owe to their God, and to His worship, and this for ever : for they serve a good *God*, who is the same in wrath and vengeance to the heathen people for ever ; as He is in his mercy toward his people for ever and ever : *Amen.*

We have not done ; we must note with all observation, how easily the Lord gets himself the victory over these heathen people : Thus it was, when now the adversaries were at the height of their pride and blasphemy : and *Judah* at the lowest in humility ; then thus it was, a prayer goes up ; that was all, and did all : for presently an Angell came down, and cut off all the mighty men of valour, Leaders and Captains in the infidels Camp : an hundred fourscore and five thousand dead corps were found there early the next morning after the prayer went up to heaven : And yet God has not done with that Infidell, who had blasphemed His holy, holy, holy name, by the mouth of his *Rabshakab*, and by his letters, which King *Hezekiah* had spread before the Lord. Thus it was ; the Kings bowels are let out, by those who came out of his own bowells ; his own sons slew their father with the sword : A most remarkable judgement upon him that durst blaspheme *Judahs* God, and a great example to all Kings, Princes, and people, to all after him, to take heed vvhhat they say, or do against *Judahs* God.

Now I have read these two stories, and the treaties there for Peace (not a word vvithout the book) I should make some application to us *mean* men, though it relates to great men most of all : but neither *great* nor *mean* can be such strangers here, or so inconsiderate of passages every day, as not to be able to make application hereof to themselves. Certain it is, these things are written for our learning. (1) What *Abijah* said to *Jeroboam*, by way of intreaty to embrace peace ; it is written for our learning,

2 Chro. 32.
20.

2 Kings
17.35.

1 Chro.
32.22.

Rom. 16.

ing, to teach us to abominate, *abominable Idolatries* which withdraw from God; sets a man at an eternall distance from Him, in whom all the springs of his life are; puts out the eye of his understanding, veiles the outward eye too, stops up the ear, so as he cannot hearken to what concernes his peace, or the peace of the Kingdom; renders him as a man in the dark, blundering on his own way of sin, and death; digging his own grave; making it wide and large, then throwing himself in, and sealing the stone upon it. From Idolatries (all are abominable) and from *blood-guiltinesse*, O Lord deliver us. (2) What King *Hezekiah* said and did to gaine peace from *Senacharib*, and what *Senacharib* with his Commissioners said and did against *Judah*: all these, every syllable is written for our learning upon whom the ends of the world are come: teaching us to seek peace & pursue it in a right method, seeking it at Gods hand & no where else: Not of the generation of them, with whom the Lord has sworn He will have war, from generation to Generation; for his sword is bathed in heaven (in his eternall Decree) and behold it shall come down upon these men, their Princes and their people, being the people of Gods curse unto judgement; never seek peace at their hand; for prayers are gone up; and the Angel is coming down to fill the sword of the Lord with the blood of these cursed men: This for the application of the two stories, or treaties touching Peace, written for our learning. Now I would make a large use of what went before these stories, which yet I will draw up as narrowly as I can: Let us study to be quiet, and still, still seek peace by all means: but Truth with all, and before all: Not asking after it as *Pilate* did, and would not stay his Answer, Truth! vvhhat is Truth said he? and then went his vway clear crosse to Truth: No not so, but asking after Truth, as we will do after mercy, vvhhen vve are giving up the Ghost, give us Truth Lord by all means, or else we die, Truth of humiliation, or humiliation in truth, else no Peace vvith God; humiliation in truth, for our warring against Him, that must be first in order of nature and time, before any peace vvith God, and mercy from Him, vvich brings Peace indeed, peace to our soules, and then all is Peace.

Exod. 17.
25.

Isa. 34. 5.

Jo. 18. 38.

1. Truth, that is, the Lord Christ He is Truth: let the *Male* of our affections, and first-borne of our desires go out after him.

And thirdly, After the Truths of God, that these may be advanced in our hearts, and over our spirits, and through the whole Kingdome. Then we shall have mercy too, and peace also, and these are sufficient to preserve us in peace, when that which men call peace, is taken

*Tranquillus
Dominus
tranquillus
Lus omni-
us.*

taken from the earth : And they that have taken it from us; are resolved with full purpose of heart, never to give it us back again, (things are not at their disposal) We need not regard what *vain men*, and *children of Belial*, not what they say or do. Buy we the *Truth* and *sell it not* (i.e.) Lay we out our selves for *Truth*, spend we our selves, and be we spent for it, and then if peace, as the world calls peace, be not to us, nor to our houses, nor to any thing we have, yet we are at Peace with God; And he speaks Peace : And then *Peace, Peace*, a perfect and compleat Peace, not to be interrupted, for it shall last as long as eternity shall last, *Peace, Peace* for ever and ever, *Amen*.

A Postscript.

R *Reader, I quite forget, against the very Law of History, so mention a virtue, Jeroboam had, and that was plaine dealing : he did not give his care to Abijah treating for peace, he would not embrace any overture that way, Therefore while Abijah was Treating, he was preparing to Storme Judah: This was plaine dealing : for had he seemed to hearken after peace, made any overture that way, and at that time sought to swallow up Judah, then he had doubled his iniquity, holding on a Treaty for peace, to vaile over his War, whereby he would devour all Judah ; which is the manner of those, who are as notable for murders, as they are for Idolatries; take*
Jesabel for an example, she did pretend a fast : and intend murther : But marke what end she had; her braines were dashed against a wall, trod under
foot by horses, devoured by dogges, all but her skull, her teet, and palmes of
her hands : For she said to the Elders and Nobles, Proclaime a Fast, that
so she might murther the innocent. Marke the end. One word more.

1 King. 21.

2 King. 7.

35.

• The second Section was preparing to go abroad before this, according to Order, but the Stationers Warden has intercepted it, with other papers, I had Licence to Print, those he has taken also, undoling first with his rough hand, what was done in an orderly way to the Presse : And for so doing, he had a Warrant from the Lords, he said : I must not believe him : For the Lords, in imitation of their great Lord and Master in heaven, gives him their Warrant to *do right*. I shall proceed according to the leave I have from God, and Licence from man, to declare the justice and equity of my doings : And in passage, I shall question only the equity and justice of theirs. Farewell.

F. J. N. J. S.

Perfect Passages OF Each Dayes Proceedings IN PARLIAMENT.

From Wednesday, January 1. to Wednesday, January 8. 1645.

The Copy of a Letter sent from the King, and another Letter from the Prince Elector, both sent open to the Committee of both Kingdoms. The heads of the Instructions, and Propositions for the Treaty. The Archbishop of Canterburies Pardon from the King, and his Letter and Petition to the Lords, notwithstanding all which he is to be drawne hanged and quartered on Friday next. The Answer of the Lords to the Ordinance of calling in the Members from their places, and Offices, and Resolutions objected against it. Every Servant and Apprentice to have liberty for recreation every second Thursday in the month. The severall speeches of Sir John Hotham immediately before his death, taken upon the scaffold.

WEDNESDAY. January 1.



Alignants are in great hopes that the Treaty will hold on untill the Spring, and then they shall do well enough, because by that time they expect armes from France, men from Ireland, and money where they can get it. In the meane time the Queen hath sent 15000. French Crownes in gold from France, for a token from the French Nunneries, that for the Cavaliers' may see how willing those zealous cloystered Matrons are to contribute for the Cause.

This gold was no sooner landed, but forthwith it was sent to Buistoll with a Convoy, to be employed there to buy shoes, stockings, and necessities for the Kings Army, and the rest to be brought in gold.

Oxford for the Commanders themselves, who have had little besides plunder for a long time. This gold was landed at Dartmouth, and is come safe both by sea and land: but a supply being now gone into the West, those parts will be better looked after.

And as the enemy is so active abroad, so are they in our owne quarters, where what with trecherie by those we trust, and discovery by secret Spies lurking among us, our proceedings are much impeded: And therefore (the time for the sitting of the Court Martiall being out) the House of Commons have passed an Ordinance for their sitting three Months longer, from the 5. of January 1644. that they may proceed to the trial and execution of such Spies and Traitors: the said Ordinance was this day carried up to the Lords.

The names of the Commissioners for the Court Martiall are

E. of Northumberland	Major Gen. Skippon.	Col. Harner.
E. of Pembroke.	Major General Brown	Col. Owen.
E. of Salisbury.	Col. Popham.	Col. Wilfon.
E. of Bullingbroke.	Col. Stapeley.	M. Bainton.
E. of Manchester.	Col. Whitehead.	M. Arundell.
E. of Denbigh.	Col. Morley.	M. Bradshaw.
Lord Viscount Say.	Col. Purefoy.	M. Steele.
Lord Wharton.	Col. Ven.	M. Molines.
Lord North.	Col. Jepson.	Lievt. Col. Welden.
Lord Grey of Wark.	Col. Rigby.	L. Col. Underwood.
Lord Roberts.	Col. West.	Lievt. Col. Camfield.
Lord Lisle.	Col. Fleetwood.	Lievt. Col. Web.
Sir William Waller.	Col. Seroud.	Lievt. Col. Bradley.
Sir Arthur Hazzlerigg	Col. Turner.	Ser. Major Salloway.
Sir John Corbet.	Col. Manwaring.	Ser. Major Titchborn.
Sir John Bamfield.	Col. Whitchcon.	M. Mills Judge Ad-
Sir Henry Heyman.	Col. Pinder.	vocate.
Sir Nathanael Brent.	Col. Humfrey.	M. Martiell.
Sir James Harrington.	Col. Player.	M. Quarterman, Pro-
Doctor Eden.	Col. Prince.	vest. Marshalls.

THURSDAY. Jan 2.

Sir John Hatham was beheaded, of whom divers have writ, yet to satisfy your expectation with something more in what is most material not

before exprest, sometimes speaking these words, *not yet Lord, not yet, not yet Lord*; at the last, first grubling in the sawdust with his hands, and then stretching forth his hands: the executioner cut off his head at a blow.

FRIDAY. Jan. 3.

Here followeth the copy of two Letters, one sent from the King to the Prince Elector to White-hall, first brought to the Committee of both Kingdoms, and from thence delivered to his Highnesse, and the other is a copy of a Letter which was sent from the Prince, to the King in Answer thereof, wherein his Highnesse sent inclosed the copy of the Declaration of the motives and reasons of his Electorall Highnesse coming hither, of which Declaration he sent two copies to the Parliament, one to the House of Peeres, and the other to the House of Commons, in which his Highnesse did fully declare himselfe against his brethren, *Rupert*, and *Maurice*, and much approve, and applaud the proceedings of the Parliament, which Declaration being that it hath formerly been printed at large, I shall say no more of that: only the two Letters here followeth the copy of them.

The Kings Letter to his Highnesse the Prince Elector Palatine.

Nephew,

I being a naturall curiosity in me to know the reason of your actions, I had never so much reason, as now, to desire it. As I much wondered at, (as yet) I never knew the reason of your journey from Torke to Holland, but your coming at this time into this Kingdome is (in all respects) much more strange to me, yet it is possible that the latter may interpret the former, and, believe me, the consideration of your mothers Sonne is the chiefe (I may say the onely) cause of this my curiosity. For as to my affaires, your being here in the way you are, is not of that importance as to make me curious to inquire upon your actions, but the great affection I beare my sister being a sufficient reason for me to desire, that all, who appertaine to her, should give a faire account of their actions, makes me now ask you, first, upon what invitation you are come, then the designe of your coming; wishing, that by your answer, I may have the same cause and comfort I have heretofore had to be

Your loving Uncle, and

faithfull friend,

CHARLES R.

The Prince Electors Letter in Answer to the King

SIR,

I Have received, with all humility, the honour your Majesty was pleased to do me, by your Letter from Turisstock the 25. of September, the onely I have had from you these two yeares, delivered unto me open the 19. of this Month, and shall by these, in obedience to your commads, offer unto you that dutifull satisfaction which I have hitherto omitted, onely in expectation of a fit opportunity. At my departure from the Hague, I gave Sir Wal. Boswell, your Majesties Resident there, notice of my intention. At my arrivall here, I found severall, and some most malicious comments made upon it, and therefore thought it most expedient, to deliver to both Houses of Parliament such reasons of my coming hither, as I send herewith, for your Majesties view: and being very confident, that I have expressed therein my duty and affection to Gods Cause, my respects to the Parliament, and to my long (in all kind) suffering Family, nothing against that which I owe your Majesty: I should be as sorrie that any other cause (but that which you are pleased to mention) should move you, at this time, more then any other, to inquire into my actions, whereof I shall ever give you full account, that it will clearly appeare to the world, that he mentioned ends were my onely invitation: and are still my onely designe. Thus wishing your Majesty a happy concurrence with your Parliament at Westminster, and all other spirituell and temporall blessings, I rest,

Your Majesties most humble and
obedient Nephew and Servant,
Charles Ludowick.

The Swedish Letters were this day read in the House of Commons, which were very large, the principall substance whereof was, That the Queene of Sweden and the States there do declare great affection to the States of this Kingdome, and likewise the reasons of their taking up armes against the Danes, and desire an answer of correspondency with this Kingdome, the grievances of the Swedes being very great and heavy, and that her Agent hath somwhat to say more by word of mouth, which is desired may be privately communicated, lest the adversaries prevent what may prove good and happy for both Kingdomes. These Letters were read and debated on in the House of Commons, and consented to, and further ordered, that the further hearing of
the

the Ambassadour be referred to the Committee of both Kingdoms, who are already sworn to secrecy.

This day the Ordinance for taking away the Book of Common Prayer, and the Ordinance for the passing of the Directory for publique Worship, with some little amendment passed the Lords House.

SATURDAY. Jan. 4.

This day there came intelligence out of the West, that Col. *Goring*, with about 3000. Horse marched to Salisbury, where Col. *Ludlow* was quartered with about 300. or 400. Horse, and about 100. of them were quartered in the Close, Col. *Goring* with his Cavaliers beset them round, and fell upon them in severall places of the Towne, with this great strength, in which action our souldiers fought very gallantly, notwithstanding the great number of the enemy and 100. and odd got away with their horses, and as many of our men without their horses, besides Col. *Ludlow* himselfe, with 16. men brake through the very middle of them, killing many of the enemies on the one side, and on the other of him, in which I cannot forget to certifie of the good service done by Capt. *Sadler*, who laid upon the enemy to the purpose, discharged both his pistolls upon them, with which he did good execution, and afterwards fought with his sword, and the like did Major *Dew* Lieutenant, and so they all got away, except only a few common souldiers that were left in the Close, and about 100. and odd horse that they left behind them, many of the enemies being slain, and wounded: but Major *Dew* was not there, he was sent up to London to answer petty complaints put in against him, and the mean while the enemy tooke this advantage, we must be more quiet amongst our selves, and not trouble such brave Commanders to have them brought to London, and the Countrey suffer for want of them, can they be our friends that do so?

We told you last week of the strength of the enemy that was gone that way, though others cried down the number not to be so many: we flatter our selves, and many men cannot indure to believe truths, but we have sustained much loss hereby. In this accident we lost Captain *Jones* and a Lieutenant, 3. or 4. under-Officers, and a few common Troupers that first took the Church, and made good the steeple, till they were snatched out by burning of straw, and being over-powered after good execution upon the enemy, were forced to yield.

After

After this Colnell *Coke* marching up the way towards the relief of the West, fell into the enemies Quarters and took Major Generall *Fielding*, one of the Kings Generalls, and some other horse and armes, without any losse at all.

This day the Ordinance concerning Apprentices, and Servants, was read in the House of Commons the first time, giving liberty to all apprentices and servants every second Thursday in every moneth to recreate, and practise themselves in military actions, or other lawfull recreations, from seven clock in the morning till five in the afternoon, but if any shall be found drunk on that day, then to have no benefit of this Ordinance for one whole yeare after.

This day the Commons consented to the Lords in their amendment of the Directory, with some few alterations, and sent it backe to be amended, the Lords agreed to them, and by the same Messengers (who were Judges) the Lords sent word to the House of Commons, that they had passed the Ordinance of Attainder against the Archb. of Canterbury.

It was this day ordered by the Commons in Parliament, that execution be done upon the body of *William Laud* Archbishop of Canterbury, (attainted of high treason by both Houses of Parliament) on Friday next at Tower hill, and that the Lieutenant of the Tower deliver him over to the Sheriffs of London, to see execution done upon as a traitor.

Concerning the Treaty with the King for peace, because it is much desired, we shall endeavour to give you an account of the passages thereof, which are thus.

- I. That the Treaty is to be at Uxbridge.
- II. That foure of the House of Peers, eight of the House of Commons, and foure of the Scots Commissioners are to meet, and treat with the like number from the King.

III. That a safe Conduct is to be granted on both sides.

IV. That the first things to be treated on shall be

1. That the Church may be soled by an Act of Parliament and for this purpose that consultation may be had with the Assembly of Divines, and to endeavour the nearest conjunction and uniformity in matters of Religion, as after consultation had with the Divines of both Kingdoms, shall be agreed upon by both Kingdoms: and that the same

be confirmed by Act of the Parliaments of both Kingdomes.

2. That an Act of Parliament may be passed to make void the Cession in Ireland, and all treaties with the Rebels, and to settle the prosecution of the warre of Ireland to be managed by the Joynt advice of both Kingdomes: and the King to assist them therein. And to do no act to discountenance or molest them therein.

3. That by an Act of Parliament the Subjects of the Kingdom of England may be appointed to be armed, trained, and disciplined, and the Admiralty be settled, and all Forces by sea, and land, for the security of both Kingdomes.

4. That a speedy end may be made herein, that it shall be concluded within 20. dayes.

5. That within the said 20. dayes His Majesty deliver in what he had to propound to the Parliament, either concerning the Propositions, or otherwise.

6. That the Commissioners of both Kingdomes, shall have power to receive the Propositions from the King, and send them to both Houses of Parliament, and from thence receive instructions how to proceed therein.

Tuesday Jan. 7.

The Lords desired a Conference about the Ordinance for exempting the Members of both Houses from all affaires civill and martiall, and to acquaint the Commons with the reasons why they cannot concur with the Ordinance concerning the Archb. of Canterbury; they acquainted the H. of Commons with his Petition, that (if they would not save his life) his Chaplains, D. Sterne, D. Martin, and D. Heywood may come to him for the good of his soule. That they had received a pardon sent to the Archbishop from the King, that they consented to his Petition for the three Divines, and that instead of being drawn hang'd, and quartered, he might be beheaded. It was onely granted for D. Sterne, with whom M. Palmer and M. Marshall, or either of them were appointed to goe and alwayes to be present when D. Sterne goes. The Archbishop certified by a friend, that one of his hamstrings was broke, so that he could not climbe a ladder, wherefore it was his desire that he might not be hanged, other reasons were urged, but it was resolved upon the question, that he should suffer as a traitor, according to the former Order. As for the pardon, dated Aprill was twelvemonth, and his Petition, they were held so little valid, that the House of Commons did not offer them the reading.

VVholesome Severity reconciled with
CHRISTIAN LIBERTY.

K OR,
The true Resolution of a present Con-
troverſie concerning Liberty of
CONSCIENCE.

Here you have the Question ſtated, the middle
way betwixt Popiſh Tyrannie and Schiſmatizing
Liberty approved, and alſo confirmed from
Scripture, and the testimonies of Divines,
yea of whole Churches :

The chiefe Arguments and Exceptions uſed in *The
Bloudy Tenent, The Compaſſionate Samaritane,*
M. S. to A. S. &c. examined.

Eight Diſtinctions added for qualifying and
clearing the whole matter.

And in concluſion a Parænetick to the five Apo-
logiſts for chooſing Accommodation rather
then Toleration.

Imprimatur. *Ia. Cranford.* Decemb. 16. 1644.

Auguſt. contra primam Gaudentii Epiſt. c. 5.

*Aſſi: autem ut iſta perſecutio dicenda ſit hominum, cum ſit potius pro hominibus liberandis
perſecutio vitiorum, qualem facit ægre etiam diligentia medicorum.*

Idem contra Epiſt. Parmen. lib. 1. cap. 7.

*Præſens enim præbent ſe non eſſe Hæreticos vel Schiſmaticos, ſed demum de indignis partibus
ſuis lividam emittant vocem, &c. nos corporum perſecutores vocant, ſe animarum interfecto-
res non vocant.*

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To the Christian and courteous Reader.

If I cannot be unknown to any, except such as are ignorant of Satans devices, and altogether strangers to the Histories of former times, that when the Church commeth out of Idolatry, and out of bitter servitude and grievous pressures of conscience, all her storms are not over her head, but she begins to be assaulted and afflicted more then before with heresies, schismes, and home-bred disturbances. Which through the manifold wisdom and over-ruling dispensation of God, who worketh all things according to the counsel of his will, is Englands lot this day, that this may be to those in whom the Lord hath no pleasure, a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence, that they may goe and fall backward, and be broken; & snared, and taken: that others, who are approved, may be made manifest; yea, that many may be purified, and tried, and made white; and that in the issue God may have the greater glory in making a soveraign remedy out of poysonfull Ingredients, and his

A 2, people

To the Christian Reader.

people may say, blessed be the Lord God of Israel who only doth wondrous things.

But now will the Sectaries be contented (as Christs witnesses in former times were) to be examined and judged according to the word of God, and if they be found to be what they are accused to be, then to suffer accordingly? Nay, if so, they fear they shall run too great a hazard. Therefore they cry out for toleration and liberty of conscience, hereby going about not only themselves to fish in troubled waters, but to improve at once the manifold advantages of sympathising with the principles of the most part of men amongst us; for as it is a common plea and bond of union among all hereticks and sectaries; how many soever their divisions and subdivisions be among themselves; yea, they give (in this) the right hand of fellowship to the Prelaticall and malignant party, for they also put in for liberty of conscience: and as carnall and prophane men desire nothing more then that they may not be compelled to any religious duty, but permitted to doe what seem good in their own eyes. So liberty of conscience is a sweet and taking word among the lesse discerning sort of godly people, newly come out of the house of bondage, out of the popish and Prelaticall tyranny; I say the lesse discerning sort, because those of the godly who have their senses exercised to discern good and evill, know that liberty of here-
sic

See the Review
of the Cove-
nant.

To the Christian Reader.

hie and schisme is no part of the liberty of conscience which Christ hath purchased to us at so dear a rate. But is there no golden hook and taking bait for the Magistrate? yes sure; for his part he is told that he may punish any breach of peace or civill justice, or a trespasse against the State and against civill authority, but yet not put forth his power against any man for heresie or schisme, being matters of religion and of conscience. As if both Polititians and Divines had been in a great error when they said that the end and use of Magistracy is to make bonum hominem, as well as bonum civem, a good man as well as a good commonwealths man. Shall I adde further, that all who wish well to the publike from principles either of religion or policy, want not here their own tentations, perswading to a toleration of sectaries, in regard of the necessity of an union against the common adversary, and the great hazard, if not certain ruine, of the cause, by our own ruptures?

Vnder these fair colours and handfome pretexts doe sectaries infuse their poyson, I mean their pernicious, God-provoking, Truth-defacing, Church rumatig, & State-shaking toleration. The plain english of the question is this: whether the Christian Magistrate be keeper of both Tables: whether he ought to suppress his own enemies, but not Gods enemies, and preserve his

To the Christian Reader.

own ordinances, but not Christs Ordinances from violation. Whether the troublers of Israel may be troubled. Whether the wilde boars and beasts of the forest must have leave to break down the hedges of the Lords vineyard; and whether ravening wolves in sheeps clothing must be permitted to converse freely in the flock of Christ. Whether after the black Devil of Idolatry and tyranny is trod under our feet, a white Devill of heresie and schisme, under the name of tender consciences, must be admitted to walk up and down among us. Whether not only pious and peaceable men, (whom I shall never consent to persecute) but those also who are as a pestilence, or a Gangrene in the body of Christ, men of corrupt minds and turbulent spirits, who draw factions after them, make a breach and rent in Israel, resist the truth and reformation of religion, spread abroad all the ways they can their pernicious errors, and by no other means can be reduced; whether those also ought to be spared and let alone. I have endeavoured in this following discourse to vindicate the lawfull, yea necessary use of the coercive power of the Christian Magistrate in suppressing and punishing hereticks and sectaries, according as the degree of their offence and of the Churches danger shall require: Which when I had done, there came to my hands a book called The storming of Antichrist. Indeed, The recruiting of Antichrist, and the storming

To the Christian Reader.

storming of Zion, (if so be that I may anabaptize
an Anabaptists book) Take one passage for instance,
pa. 25. And for Papists, saith he, though they are
least to be borne of all others, because of the
uncertainty of their keeping faith with Here-
ticks, as they call us, and because they may be
absolved of securements that can arise from
the just solemn oaths, and because of their cru-
elty against the Protestants in divers Countries
where they get the upper hand, and because
they are profest Idolaters, yet may they be born
with (as I suppose with submission to better
judgments) in Protestant government, in point
of religion, because we have no command to
root out any for conscience, &c. *Why then? is
this to storm Antichrist? or is it not rather a storming of
this party, in the prevailing whereof God will have
far more glory then in the prevailing of the
Popish and Prelaticall party, as himself speaketh,
pa. 34. And if he will storm, sure some of his Ladders
are too short.* If any one rail against Christ (saith
he, p. 23.) or deny the Scriptures to be his word,
or affirm the Epistles to be only letters written
to particular Churches, and no rule for us, and
so unsettle our faith, this I take may be punish-
ed by the Magistrate, because all or most Na-
tions

To the Christian Reader.

tions in the world doe it. That all the Nations in the world doe punish for these things, I am yet to learn: and those that doe, doe they not also punish men for other ways of unsettling the grounds of faith besides these? The declining of some of the Epistles as being letters written upon particular occasions, and no rule for us, is an error which hath been pretended to be no lesse conscientious then those errors which now he will have indulged. Lastly, if he would needs storm, why would he not make some new breach? I find no materiall arguments in him for liberty of conscience, but what I found before in the bloody Tenent, the compassionate Samaritane, and M. S. to A. S. so that my ensuing answers to them shall serve his turn. And now Reader buy the truth, and sell it not. Search for knowledge as for hid treasures. If thou readeest with a unprejudiced mind, I dare promise thee through Gods blessing a satisfied mind.



THE



THE
TRUE RESOLUTION
of a present Controversie concer-
ning Liberty of Conscience.

Concerning this Question there are three opi-
nions; two extreams, and one in the middle.
So it is resolved not only by D. Voetius, in
his late Disputations *De libertate conscientia*,
but long before by Calvin, in his Refuta-
tion of the errors of Servetus, where he
disputeth this very question, Whether Christian Judges
may lawfully punish Hereticks.

The first opinion is that of the Papists, who hold it to be
not only no sin, but good service to God, to extirpate by
fire and sword, all that are adversaries to, or opposers of the
Church and Catholick Religion. Upon this ground Grego-
rius de Valentia tells us there were 180. of the *Albigenses*
burnt under Pope Innocentius the third; and in the Councell
of Constance were burnt John Hus and Hierome of Prague.

Suarez de triplice virtute, Tract. 1. disp. 23. sect. 2. layeth
downe these Assertions. 1. That all Hereticks who after
sufficient instruction and admonition, still persist in their
error, are to be without mercy put to death. 2. That all im-
penitent Hereticks, though they professe to be Catholicks,
being convict of heresie, are to be put to death. 3. That re-
lapsing Hereticks; though penitent, are to be put to death

without mercy. 4. That it is most probable, that Heresiarchs, Dogmatists, or the authors of an heresie, though truly penitent, yet are not to be received to favour, but delivered to the civil sword. 5. That a heretick who hath not relapsed, if before sentence past against him, he convert of his owne accord, he is not to bee punished with death, but with some smaller punishment, such as perpetuall imprisonment, or the like. *Ibid*, Tract, 3, disp. 12. sect. 12. hee saith, that Schismaticks may be punished with almost all the punishments of Hereticks.

Axor. Institut. moral. Tom. 1. lib. 8. cap. 14. Utrig, verò, tum relapsi, tum alii, quando pertinaces sunt, vivi igne exuruntur: si verò pertinaces non sint, prius strangulari solent, & postea comburi. See the like, *Becan. Summa part. 3. Tract. 1. quæst. 6. & 9. Turrian. in 2^m 2^a disp. 56. dub. 1.* Some of them also maintaine the compelling of Infidels to be baptized, as *Scotus in lib. 4. Sent. disp. 4. quæst. 9.* and they who follow him,

The second opinion doth fall short, as farre as the former doth exceed: that is, that the Magistrate ought not to inflict any punishment, nor put forth any coercive power upon Hereticks or Sectaries, but on the contrary grant them liberty and toleration. This was the opinion of the *Donatists*, against which *Augustine* hath written both much and well, in divers places: though himselfe was once in the same error, till he did take the matter into his second and better thoughts, as is evident by his *Retractions, lib. 2. cap. 2. & epist. 48.* In the same error are the *Socinians* and *Ayminians*. See *Pelii Harmonia, Artic. 21. Nic. Boderber. Socinian. Remonstrantismus. cap. 25.* See also *Grotii Apologeticus, cap. 6. pag. 130. Theoph. Nicolaid. Refut. Tractat. de Ecclesia, cap. 4. p. 33.* The very same is maintained in some Bookes printed amongst our selves in this yeare of confusion: viz. *The bloody Tenent: Liberty of Conscience: The Compassionate Samaritan: John the Baptist: and by M^r. Goodwin in his THEOMAXIA, pag. 50. and in his Innocencies Triumph, pag. 8.* In which places he denyeth that the Magistrate, and particularly that the two Houses of Parliament may impose any

any thing pertaining to the service and worship of God under mults or penalties. So *M.S. to A.S. pag. 53. 54. 55. &c.* disputeth against the coercive power of the Magistrate to suppress Heresies and Sects. This power the Presbyterians doe ascribe to the Magistrate, as I shall shew by and by: Therefore I still averre, that M. Goodwin in denying and opposing this power, doth herein (as in divers other particulars) ascribe much lesse to the Magistrate then the Presbyterians doe: which overthroweth that insinuation of the five Apologists pag. 19.

The third opinion is, that the Magistrate may and ought to exercise his coercive power, in suppressing and punishing Hereticks and Sectaries, lesse or more, according as the nature and degree of the error, schisme, obstinacy, and danger of seducing others, doth require. This as it was the judgement of the orthodox Ancients, (*vide Optati opera, edit. Al. baspin. pag. 204. 215.*) so it is followed by our soundest Protestant Writers; most largely by Beza against Bellius and Monfortius, in a peculiar Treatise *De Hereticis à Magist. strati puniendis*. And though Gerhard, * Brochmand, and o-

* Brochmand. de magist. polit. cap. 2. quæst. 3. dub. 2. Fatemur idololatrias istos crassos, qui alios seducunt, neci-dendos esse. Et infra. Hereticos qui è territorio principis exire jussi, detrectant obsequium, ne patè publicam turbant, vita plesti posse, damnis faciles. Et infra. Hereticos tanquam falsarios, castigandos & puniendos esse censemus, sed non morte, verum carcere, exilio, excommunicatione. Vide Calvin. Resut. error. Mich. Serveti, pag. 694. inter opus. Scimus tres esse errorum gradus: & quibusdam fatemur dandam esse veniam, aliis modicam castigationem sufficere, ut tantum manifesta impietas capitali supplicio plestatur. Fideles sapiens Paulus hortatur ut se invicem tolerant, quamvis aliqua sit inter eos dissensio: nempe si quæ levis superstitio & inscitia simplicium mentes occupat; ne cum patientiæ corrigere, potius studeant, quam intemperanter ad vindictam efferveant. Secundum errorum genus, est castigationem meretur, mediocris tamen adhibenda est severitas: tantum ne indulgentia alatur eorum improbitas & contumacia qui fidei unitatem scindere cuperent. Sed ubi à suis fundamentis convellitur religio, detestande in Deum blasphemie profertur, impiis & pestiferis dogmatibus in certum rapiuntur anime; denique ubi palam defectio ab unico Deo, paræq; doctrinâ tentatur, ad extremum illud remedium descendere necesse est, ne mo tale venenum longius serpat. This Treatise is approved by Bulling. in an Epistle to Calvin. Vide Calvin. Epist. p. 197. where he addeth: Dudum D. Urbanus Regius unâ cum omnibus Luneburgen. Ecclesie ministris, edito etiam libro Germanico, ostendit jure divino & humano coerceri Hereticos. Concerning moderation he saith after: Scio tibi nec crudile esse ingenium, nec te ulam atrocitatem approbare: quis noscitur etiam hîc modum adhibendum esse? At quomodo Servetus Lerna hereseon & pertinacissimo homini parci poterit, non video. When Monfortius had stated the question thus: Sunt quidam qui volunt omnes Hereticos, hoc est, ab ipsis dissentientes, interfici, &c. Beza answereth him: Ergo si potest, vel unum nominet qui aut omnes Hereticos censuerit interficiendos, aut ita sibi placuerit ut alios omnes diversum sentientes pro hereticis habuerit.

ther *Lutheran* Writers, make a controversie where they need not, alledging that the *Calvinists* (so nicknamed) hold as the *Papists* doe, that all Hereticks without distinction are to be put to death: The truth is, they themselves say as much as either *Calvin* or *Beza*, or any other whom they take for adversaries in this Question, that is, that Hereticks are to be punished by mulcts, imprisonments, banishments, and if they be grosse idolaters or blasphemers, and seducers of others, then to be put to death. What is it else that *Calvin* teacheth, when he distinguisheth three kinds of errors: some to be tolerated with a spirit of meeknesse, and such as ought not to separate betwixt brethren: others not to be tolerated, but to be suppressed with a certaine degree of severity: a third sort so abominable and pestiferous, that they are to be cut off by the highest punishments?

And lest it be thought that this is but the opinion of some few, that the magistrate ought thus by a strong hand, and by civill punishments suppress Hereticks and Sectaries: let it be observed what is held forth and professed concerning this businesse, by the Reformed Churches in their publicke Confessions of Faith. In the latter Confession of *Helvetia*, cap. 30. it is said that the magistrate ought to *root out lies and all superstition, with all impiety and idolatry*. And after; *Let him suppress stubborne Hereticks*. In the *French* Confession, art. 39. *Therefore he hath also delivered the sword into the hands of the Magistrates, to wit, that offences may be repressed, not only those which are committed against the second Table, but also against the first*. In the *Belgick* Confession, art. 36. *Therefore hath he armed the Magistrate with the sword for punishing them that doe evil, and for defending such as doe well. Moreover it is their duty not only to be carefull and watchfull for the preservation of the civill government, but also to defend the holy Ministry, and to abolish and overthrow all Idolatry, and counterfeits worship of God*. *Beza de haret. à magistr. puniend.* tells us in the beginning, that the Ministers of *Helvetia* had declared themselves to be of the same judgement, in a booke published of that Argument, And toward the end he citeth the *Saxon* Confession,

cession, *Luther, Melancthon, Brentius, Bucerus, Wolsangus Capito, and Bullinger.* The Synod of *Dort, Sess. 138.* in their sentence against the Remonstrants doth not only interdict them of all their Ecclesiasticall and Academicall functions, but also beseech the States Generall by the secular power further to suppress and restrain them.

The Arguments whereby this third or middle opinion is confirmed (that we may not build upon humane authority) are these.

First, the law, *Deut. 13. 6, 7, 8, 9.* concerning the stoning and killing of him, who shall secretly intice people, saying, *Let us go after other gods.* If it be said, that this law did bind the Jews only, and is not morall nor perpetuall. I answer, *Jacobus Acontius*, though he be of another opinion concerning this question then I am, yet he candidly and freely confesseth, that he seeth nothing in that law, which doth not belong to the New Testament, as well as the Old; for saith he, the reason and ground of the law, the use and end of it, is morall and perpetuall, *ver. 11. All Israel shall hear and fear, and shall doe no more any such wickednesse, as this is among you.* But yet, saith *Acontius*, this law doth not concern Hereticks, who beleeve and teach errors concerning the true God or his worship; but only Apostates who fall away to other gods: * In this I shall not much contend with him; only thus far, if Apostates are to be stoned and killed according to that law, then surely seducing Hereticks are also to receive their measure and proportion of punishment; The morall equity of the law requireth thus much at least, that if we compare Heresy and Apostasy together, look how much lesse the evill of sin is in Heresy, so much and no more is to be remitted of the evill of punishment, especially the danger of contagion and seducement, being as much or rather more in Heresy then in Apostasy; yea, that which is called Heresy being oftentimes a reall following after other gods.

Stratag. Satan. lib. 3. pa. 150, 151. Sed sunt qui tantum usque ad Christum viguisse eam legē putant, &c. Et penam illam corporalem aeterna damnationis typum fuisse, &c. Quae quidem conjectura adeo mihi non incepta visa est, ut quamobrem rejici possit non invenirem; nisi ei ratio in lege posita refragetur. Est enim in lege: Ut omnis Israel audiens timet, neque posthac quicquam admittat ejusmodi. Quae certe ratio perpetuo vget.

* *Pelagius in Deuter. 13. Qui blasphemus sunt, qui Ecclesiam & Rempub. aperte contumant, qui seditionis sunt miras incurunt peras: ceteri vero corrigendi sunt, modisque aliis coercendi, exemplo Theodosii & Justiniani Imperatorum, apud Socratem lib. 5. c. 10. Theodosius iratus deus iratus est.*

But the Law, *Deut. 13.* for punishing with death, as well whole Cities as particular persons, for falling away to other gods, is not the only law for punishing even capitally grosse sins against the first Table. See *Exod. 22, 20.* *He that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto the Lord only, he shall be utterly destroyed, Exod. 31, 14.* Every one that defileth the Sabbath, shall surely be put to death, *Levit. 24, 16.* And he that blasphemeth the Name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death, *Deut. 17, 2, 3, 4, 5.* If there be found among you within any of thy gates, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, man or woman, that hath wrought wickednesse in the sight of the Lord thy God, in transgressing his Covenant, and hath gone and served other gods and worshipped them, &c. Thou shalt bring forth that man or that woman unto thy gates, even that man or that woman, and shalt stone them with stones till they die.

It will be asked, But how doth it appear that these or any other Judiciall Laws of *Moses* doe at all appertain to us, as rules to guide us in like cases? I shall wish him who scrupleth this, to read *Piscator* his Appendix to his Observations upon the 21, 22, 23. Chapters of *Exodus*, where he excellently disputeth this question, Whether the Christian Magistrate be bound to observe the Judicial laws of *Moses*, as well as the Jewish Magistrate was. He answereth by the common distinction, he is obliged to those things in the Judiciall law which are unchangeable, & common to all Nations: but not to those things which are mutable, or proper to the Jewish Republike. But then he explaineth this distinction, that by things mutable, and proper to the Jews, he understandeth the emancipation of an Hebrew servant or handmaid in the seventh year, a mans marrying his brother's wife and raising up seed to his brother, the forgiving of debts at the Jubilee, marrying with one of the same Tribe, and if there be any other like to these; also Ceremoniall trespasses, as touching a dead body, &c. But things immutable, and common to all Nations are the laws concerning Morall trespasses, Sins against the Morall law, as murder, adultery, theft, enticing away from God, blasphemy,

my, striking of Parents. Now that the Christian Magistrate is bound to observe these Judiciall lawes of *Moses* which appoint the punishments of sins against the Morall law, he proveth by these reasons.

1. If it were not so, then it is free and arbitrary to the Magistrate to appoint what punishments himself pleaseth. But this is not arbitrary to him, for *he is the Minister of God, Rom. 13. 4. and the judgement is the Lords, Deut. 1. 7. 2 Chron. 19. 6.* And if the Magistrate be *Keeper of both Tables*, he must keep them in such manner as God hath delivered them to him.

2. Christs words, *Mat. 5. 17. Think not that I am come to destroy the Law or the Prophets, I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill*, are comprehensive of the Judiciall law, it being a part of the law of *Moses*; Now he could not fulfill the Judiciall law, except either by his practice, or by teaching others still to observe it; not by his own practice, for he would not condemn the Adulteresse, *Joh. 8. 11.* nor divide the Inheritance, *Luke 12. 13, 14.* Therefore it must be by his doctrine for our observing it.

3. If Christ in his Sermon, *Mat. 5.* would teach that the Morall law belongeth to us Christians, in so much as he vindicateth it from the false glosses of the Scribes & Pharisees; then he meant to hold forth the Judiciall law concerning Morall trespasses as belonging to us also: for he vindicateth and interpreteth the Judiciall law, as well as the Morall, *Mat. 5. 38. An eye for an eye, &c.*

4. If God would have the Morall law transmitted from the Jewish people to the Christian people; then he would also have the Judiciall law transmitted from the Jewish Magistrate to the Christian Magistrate: There being the same reason of immutability in the punishments, which is in the offences; Idolatry and Adultery displeaseth God now as much as then; and Theft displeaseth God now no more then before.

5. *Whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning, Rom. 15. 4.* and what shall the Christian Magistrate

Magistrate learn from those Judiciall laws, but the will of God to be his rule in like cases? The Ceremoniall law was written for our learning, that we might know the fulfilling of all those Types, but the Judiciall law was not Typical.

6. *Doe all to the glory of God*, 1 Cor. 10. 31. *Mat.* 5. 16. How shall Christian Magistrates glorifie God more then by observing Gods own laws, as most just, and such as they cannot make better?

7. *Whatsoever is not of faith is sin*, *Rom.* 14. 23. Now when the Christian Magistrate punisheth sins against the Morall law, if he doe this in faith and in assurance of pleasing God, he must have his assurance from the Word of God, for faith can build upon no other foundation: it is the Word which must assure the Conscience, God hath commanded such a thing, therefore it is my duty to doe it, God hath not forbidden such a thing, therefore I am free to doe it. But the will of God concerning Civill justice and punishments is no where so fully and cleerly revealed as in the Judiciall law of *Moses*. This therefore must be the surest prop and stay to the conscience of the Christian Magistrate.

These are not my reasons (if it be not a word or two added by way of explaining and strengthening) but the substance of *Piscators* reasons: Unto which I adde, 1. Though we have cleare and full scriptures in the New Testament for abolishing the Ceremoniall law, yet we no where read in all the new Testament of the abolishing of the Judicial law; so far as it did concern the punishing of sins against the Morall law, of which Heresy and seducing of souls is one, and a great one. Once God did reveal his will for punishing those sins by such and such punishments. He who will hold that the Christian Magistrate is not bound to inflict such punishments for such sins, is bound to prove that those former lawes of God are abolished, and to shew some scripture for it. 2. That Judiciall law for having two or three witnesses in judgement, *Deut.* 19. 15. *Ex.* 10. 28. is transferred even with an obligation to us Christians, and it concerneth all judgement, as well Ecclesiasticall as Civill, *Mat.*

18.16. 2 Cor. 13.1. and some other particulars might be instanced in: which are pressed and enforced from the Iudicial law, by some who yet mind not the obligation of it. To conclude therefore this point, though other judicall or forensicall laws concerning the punishments of sins against the Morall law, may, yea, must be allowed of in Christian Republiques and Kingdomes; Provided always, they be not contrary or contradictory to Gods own Iudicial laws: yet I fear not to hold with *Junius, de Politia Mosi* cap. 6. that he who was punishable by death under that Iudicial law, is punishable by death still; and he who was not punished by death then, is not to be punished by death now; And so much for the first argument from the Law of God.

A second argument we have from divers laudable examples in the Old Testament; *Moses* drew the sword against Idolaters, *Exod.* 32.27. the children of Israel resolved to go out to war against the *Reubenites* and *Gadites*, when they understood that they were building another Altar. *Jos.* 22.12. *Elijah* commanded to slay the Priests of *Baal*, 1 *Kings* 18.40. In *Asa* his time there was a Covenant for putting to death such as would not seek the Lord God of their Fathers, 2 *Chro.* 15.13. *Iehu* slew the Priests of *Abab*, and the worshippers of *Baal*, 2 *Kings* 10. 11. 24. First, searching and making sure that there were none of the servants of the Lord among them, *ver.* 23. *Iosiah* sacrificed the Priests of *Samarina* upon their own altars, 2 *Kings* 23.20. *Nebuchadnezzar*, though an Heathē, being convinced that there was no god like the God of Israel, made a Decree, that whosoever speaketh blasphemy, or uttereth any error against God, shall be cut in pieces, and their houses made a dunghill, *Dan.* 3.29. As for those whose errors and corruptions in religion were not so great, there was some (though not the highest) severity used against them: *Moses* was so angry with the people that were seduced into Idolatry, that he burnt the Calf which they had worshipped, and ground it to powder, and strewed it upon the water, and made the Children of

Israel to drinke of it, Exod. 32. 20. Thereby teaching them (as *Hierome* and others give the reason) to abhorre that Idolatry, while their Idoll did passe from them among their own excrements. *Asa* did remove his mother *Maachab* from being Queen, because of an Idoll which she had made in a grove, 1 Kings 15. 13. *Josiah* caused all that were present in *Jerusalem* and *Benjamin* to stand to the Covenant, 2 Chron. 34. 32. which could not be without either threatening or inflicting punishment upon the transgressors; there being many at that time disaffected to the Reformation.

O but saith *M. S.* to *A. S.* pag. 51, 52. Idolatry and Idolaters were the adequate object of that coercive power in matters of religion, whereof we read in the Old Testament. Nor doe we read that ever the Jewish Kings or Magistrates attempted any thing against Sectaries or Schismatics. I answer, 1. The object of that coercive power of *Josiah*, 2 Chron. 34. 32. was generally the matter of the Covenant, that is, the taking away not only of Idolatry, but of all abominations, and a walking after the Lord, and keeping of his Testimonies, and Statutes, and Commandments, ver. 31, 33. *Nehemiah* did drive away the son of *Eliashib* the high Priest, not for Idolatry, but for marrying the daughter of *Sanballat*, and thereby defiling the Covenant of the Priesthood, *Nehem.* 13. 28, 29. *Ezra* made the Chief Priests, the Levites, and all Israel to enter into a Covenant and to swear, that they would put away the strange wives, and that it should be done according to the Law, *Ezra* 10. 3. 5. and whosoever would not come to *Jerusalem* for this thing, was not only himself excommunicated from the Church, but all his goods forfeited, v. 8. *Artaxerxes* decreed punishment for all who should oppose the Law of God, and the building of the Temple: wherein he is so far approved, as that *Ezra* bleisseth God for it, *Ezra* 7. 26, 27. *Whosoever will not doe the law of thy God, and the law of the King, let judgement be executed speedily upon him, whether it be unto death, or unto banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or imprisonment, &c.* which doth not concern Idolatry only, but generally the laws of God, v. 25.

See

Set Magistrates and Judges which may judge all the people, all such as know the laws of thy God. He who wrote *Liberty of Conscience*, p. 27, 28, is so far confounded with this laudable Decree of *Artaxerxes*, that he can say no more to it, but that it was the commandment of God, not an invention of men which *Artaxerxes* did thus impose, which is as much as we desire. But 2. Sects and Schismes are to be punished as well, though not as much as Heresy and Idolatry. There are degrees of faults, and accordingly degrees of punishments. *Augustine* wrote an Epistle to *Bonifacius* upon this occasion, to shew that the *Donatists* had nothing to doe with the *Arrians*, and so were not to be punished with such rigour and severity; yet he adviseth that moderate mulcts and punishments may be laid upon them, & that their Bishops or Ministers may be banished. In his 127 Epist. he intercedeth most earnestly with the proconsul of *Africa*, that he might not put to death the *Donatists*, but repress them some other ways. We have also a scripture example for punishing Sectaries who are not Hereticks. It is agreed among interpreters, there were in *Judah* two sorts of high places, some on which God was worshipped, others on which idols were worshipped, & it is most manifest from 2 *Chro*. 33. 17. and from the reconciling of 2 *Chro*. 15. 17. with *1 Ch*. 14. 3. 5. the one sort was the high places of Idolatry, the other, the high places of wil-worship; yet the Priests of the latter, as well as of the former, were punished by *Iosabab* as *Tostatus* proveth from 2 *Kings* 23. and the text it self is clear, for he put to death the Priests of *Samaritan*, who had sacrificed in the high places of Idolatry, *verf*. 20. but as for those who sacrificed in the high places of wil-worship, because they sacrificed to the Lord only (as the word is, 2 *Chron*. 33. 17.) therefore *Iosabab* did not put them to death, only he caused them to goe out of all the Cities of *Judah*, and to cease from the Priests office, so that they durst not come up to the Altar of the Lord at *Jerusalem*, only they were permitted to eat of the unleavened bread among their brethren, *verf*. 8. 9. which is parallel to that law, *Exod*. 44. *verf*. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. a prophecy concerning

the Christian Temple, and the times of the New Testament, w^{ch} reacheth a blow to another silly & short-sighted evasion, used both in the *Bloudy Tenent*, and in *M. S. to A. S.* that all this coercive power exercised in the Old Testament was typicall, & therefore not imitable now in the New Testament. Whereunto I further reply, 1. The reason of all that coercive severity was morall and perpetuall, as was shewed before from *Deut. 13. 11*. Next, why did they not prove that it was typicall? shall we take their fancy for a certainty? They have neither Scripture nor Interpreters for it. 3. They confound the Judiciall lawes of *Moses* with the Ceremoniall, making the Judicatories and Justice typicall no lesse then the Ceremonies. 4. They doe utterly overthrow the investiture of Christian Princes and Magistrates with any power at all in matters of Religion, from the Old Testament. So that one may not argue thus: The godly Kings of *Judah* did remove the monuments of Idolatry and Superstition, therefore so should the Christian Magistrate doe. The most arrant malignant may answer in the words of *Mr. Williams, chap. 109.* that the Civill power or State of *Israel*, so farre as it attended upon the spirituall, was merely figurative: Or in the words of *M. S. pag. 51.* There are two reasons very considerable why the Kings of *Judah* might be invested by God with a larger power in matters of religion, then Kings or Magistrates under the Gospel have any ground or warrant to claime from them. First, they were types of Christ (but by the way how doth he prove that *Asa*, *Jehu*, and *Josiah* were types of Christ?) which no King under heaven at this day is. Secondly, not the people onely, but the very land over which they ruled were typicall. 5. The punishment of persons was a part of their reformation, as well as the destruction of monuments, and why must we follow their example in the one, more then the other? If we smart under both their diseases, we must apply both their remedies, or neither.

The third argument is drawne from the New Testament. The magistrate beareth not the sword in vaine, for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath on him that doth evil.

Rom.

Rom. 13. 4. But I asſume; Hereticks and Sectaries doe evill, yea much evill, eſpecially when they draw many others after them in their pernicious wayes. It was the obſervation of one of the greateſt Politicians of this Kingdome, *That heresies and ſchiſmes are of all others the greateſt ſcandalls: yea* See Bacon's Eſſays pag. 11, *more then corruption of manners.* One of his reaſons is, becauſe 12. every ſect of them haſt a diſverſe poſture or cringe by themſelves, which cannot but move deriſion in worldlings, and depraved poli-ticks, who are apt to contemne holy things. I know it will be anſwered, If any Sectary make a breach of peace, or diſturb the State, then indeed the magiſtrate ought to redreſſe it by a coercive power. So *John the Baptiſt, pag. 57.* So *M. Williams, chap. 52.* anſwereth, Rom. 13. 4. is not meant of evill againſt the Chriſtian eſtate, but of evill againſt the Civill State. *M. S. pag. 53. 54.* tells us that he is not for the toleration of Sects and Schiſmes, except *only upon this ſuppoſition, that the profeſſors or maintainers of them be otherwiſe peaceable in the State, and every wayes ſubject to the lawes and lawfull power of the civill Magiſtrate.* I anſwer, the experience of former times may make us ſo wiſe as to foreſee that hereſie and ſchiſme tendeth to the breach of the civill peace, and to a rupture in the State as well as in the Church. What commotions did the *Arrians* make in all the Eaſterne parts? the *Macedonians* in Greece? the *Donatiſts* in *Aſricke*? How did the *Anabaptiſts* raiſe and foment the bloody warre of the Boores in *Germany*, wherein were killed above 100000 men?

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

How ſatanicall was *Julians* deſigne to bring the Chriſtians to nought, by granting liberty of conſcience to all the here-ticks and ſectaries that were among them? But ſuppoſe the Commonwealth to runne no hazard by the toleration of Hereſies and Schiſmes, I anſwer further, 1. The Text, Rom. 13. 4. ſpeaketh generally, and we muſt not diſtinguiſh where the Scripture doth not diſtinguiſh. 2. Thoſe that are in authority are to take ſuch courſes and ſo to rule, that we may not onely lead a quiet and peaceable life, but further that it

be in all godnesse and honesty, 1 Tim. 2. 2. The magistrate is keeper of both Tables, and is to punish the violation of the first Table, as well as of the second. 3. Will any man, saith Augustine, who is in his right wit, say to Kings, Doe not care by whom the Church of God in your Kingdome be maintained or opposed: it doth not concerne you in your Kingdome, who will be religious, who sacrilegious: to whom notwithstanding it cannot be said, It doth not concerne you in your Kingdome, who be chaste, who whorish, &c. Is the soules keeping faith and truth to God a lighter matter, then that of a woman to a man? He confesseth in the same Epistle, that he and some other African Divines were sometime of that opinion, that the Emperour should not at all punish the Donatists for their heresie or error, but such of them only as should be found to commit any riot or breach of peace, especially the furious and violent Circumcellions. But afterward he confesseth that the Emperour had as good reason to repress their pernicious error, as their furious violence.

Epist. 50. Nonnullis fratribus videbatur, in quibus & ego eram, quamvis Donatistarum rabies usquequaque se vires, non esse petendum ab Imperatori-

bus, ut ipsam heresim juderent omnino non esse, penam constituendo eis qui in illa esse voluissent: sed hoc potius constitueretur, ut eorum furiosas violentias non paterentur. Notwithstanding he acknowledgeth a great mercy of God in inclining the Emperours heart another way. Hinc ergo factum est ut Imperator religiosus & pius perlatis in notitiam suam salubris causis, mallet piissimis legibus illius impietatis errorem omnino corrigere, et eos qui contra Christum Christi signa portarent, ad unitatem Catholicam terrendo & coercendo redigere, quam seviendi tantummodo auferre licentiam, & errantis ac periculi relinquere.

Calo. Refut. error. Misc. Ser. veti. Porro crudelis est ista quam laudant clementia, oves exponere in pradam ut lupis parcat. Et infra. Quid enim absurdius est, quam furta severe puniri Judex, sacrilegii licentiam dare? quam suum cuique honorem salvi tueatur, lacerandi impiis exponere Dei gloriam

A fourth Argument is drawne from the names which the Scripture giveth to Hereticks and Sectaries, holding forth the extreame danger of tolerating and letting them alone. They are called ravening wolves, Matth. 7. 15. and grievous wolves not sparing the flocke, Act. 20. 29. thieves and robbers, John 10. 8. Their word eateth as a canker, 2 Tim. 2. 17. and is as a little leaven leavening the whole lump, Gal. 5. 9. They are troublers of Israel, Act. 15. 24. Gal. 5. 12. Shall the troublers of the State be punished, and the troublers of Israel go free? Shall Physicians cut off the member that hath a Gangrene in it, because it indangereth the whole body, and shall the great

great State physicians suffer the Gangrene to spread in the Church? Shall mens bodies, goods, and purses, be so farre cared for, that thieves and robbers must not be suffered, but justice done upon them; and shall those have immunity who steale away soules from Christ, and rob us of the pearle of truth? Nay shall the poore sheepe be so much looked to, that the wolfe must not be spared; and shall we suffer the soule-destroying wolves to enter, yea abide peaceably among the dear-bought flock of Jesus Christ?

Other Arguments might be added, but let these suffice at this present. I come next to answer all the materiall objections which I have either read or heard (to my best remembrance) alledged against this coercive power of the Magistrate in matters of Religion.

First, the Parable of the Tares is objected: Christ will not have the tares to be pluckt up, but to grow together with the wheat untill the harvest, *Mat. 13. 29. 30.* In this argument Mr. Williams in his *Bloudy Tenent* putteth a great deale of confidence. But I am as confident to discover the strength of it to be lesse then nothing. For first he taketh the tares to be meant neither of hypocrites in the Church, whether discovered or undiscovered; nor yet of those who are scandalous offenders in their life and conversation, but only of Antichristian Idolaters and false worshippers: which is a most false interpretation. Christ himselfe expoundeth it generally, *vers. 38. The good seed are the children of the Kingdome: but the tares are the children of the wicked one.* And *vers.*

41. the tares are expounded to be *all that offend, and which doe iniquity.* This being the cleare meaning, it will follow undeniably, that if the Magistrate must spare those who are meant by tares in the Parable, then he must spare and let a-

quidem quoniam hoc loco de re a improborum universitate extirpanda agitur. Nihil igitur impedit quominus quidam ex improborum turba delicti, supplicio reudantur. Quamvis ita sit, quo fundamentum verbi Dei faret, homicida, proditores, &c. naves morte multentur? Nam si salva huius parabolae doctrina, hi in crucem agi aut capite truncari possint, nedum heretici multa magis mortis pœna plebentur. Si enim peritura bona & hanc vitam arripientes, &c. Si Principis majestatem violantes, &c. n. dum, &c. Deinde modo ita evellantur ut criticum non nã crediderit, boni cum parabolâ verâ, extirpi posse liquet.

Tossanus in locum. Sane qui hoc loco abutuntur ut probent non esse sumendum de hereticis. Carewright. Hist. Christi ex 4 E. 2. 145. lib. 2. p. 145. Sed hoc loco o hereticorum patenti ad clientum suorum inimitatem ascendit abutitur. Quibus vel ex hoc ipso loco resistitur. Et primum

Hic more writ-
 ting upon this
 par b'e mo-
 veth this
 doubt: Si pro-
 b'etur eradica-
 tio, & aspe-
 al' messimie-
 nenda est pati-
 entis, quomodo
 ejiciendi su-
 nt quidam de me-
 do nostrum?
 He answereth
 Inter triticum
 et zizania qued-
 nos appellamus
 lolium, quamdiu
 beata est &
 nondum cultus
 venit ad spicam
 grandis simi-
 tudo est, & in
 d' fecerando aut
 nulla aut per-
 difficultis di-
 stantia. Prema-
 net ergo Domi-
 nus, ne ubi quid
 ambiguum est,
 cito facientiam
 proferamus, sed
 Deo Judi-
 cium re-
 servemus.

lone all scandalous offenders, murderers, adulterers, drun-
 kards, thieves, &c. when any such are discovered in the vi-
 sible Church. But this cannot be the meaning of the tares
 in the Parable, saith Mr. *William*, chap. 24. that wicked livers,
 opposite to the children of God, should be understood. For
 then, saith he, when Christ saith, *Let the tares alone*, he should
 contradict other ordinances for the punishment of evil do-
 ers by the Magistrate. But this is a base begging of the que-
 sition: for he well knew that those against whom he disputes
 hold that his exposition of the Parable contradicteth the
 ordinance of God for punishing Idolaters and Hereticks, the
 question being whether this be not an ordinance as well as
 the punishment of scandalous livers. Besides, if the tares be
 Antichristian Idolaters, and they must not be pluckt up, but
 suffered to grow till the harvest, as he expoundeth, this con-
 tradicteth other Scriptures, which say that the sword must be
 drawne against Antichristian idolaters, and they thereby cut
 off, *Revel.* 13. 10. and 17. 16.

But I proceed to a second answer. If by tares I should
 suppose only to be meant Idolaters, Hereticks, and false wor-
 shippers (which is a glosse contrary to the text, as I have de-
 monstrate) yet their argument will not conclude the for-
 bearing or sparing of such, except onely in such cases, and so
 farre as the true worshippers of God cannot be certainly
 and infallibly dignosced from the false worshippers, as the
 wheat from the tares: as *Jesus* would not destroy the wor-
 shippers of *Baal*, till he was sure that none of the servants of
 the Lord were among them, 2 *King.* 10. 23. The reason why
 the tares are not to be pluckt up, is, *lest while ye gather up the*
tares, ye root up also the wheat with them, vers. 29. Now when
 a man is sure that he plucks up nothing but tares, or rather
 thornes, without the least danger to the wheat, how doth
 the Parable strike against his so doing? If *M. S.* will not
 beleeeve me, let him beleeeve himselfe, pag. 50. *For my part,*
saith he, when the Civill Magistrate shall be farre enough out of
this danger of fighting against God, I have nothing to say against
his fighting with superstition, heresie, schisme, &c.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, what if I shape yet another answer to the argument out of Mr. Williams owne words? chap. 27. *I acknowledge*, saith he, *this command [Let them alone] was expressly spoken to the messengers or ministers of the Gospel, who have not civil power or authority in their hand, and therefore not to the civil Magistrate, King or Governour.* Now therefore what a blockish argument is it, to reason from this Parable against the coercive power of the magistrate in matters of religion? If there must be a forbearance of any severity, we must forbear Church censures and excommunication, a way of rooting out the tares, which Mr. Williams himselfe justifieth as much as we doe.

Fourthly, and if the utter extirpation and plucking up of Hereticks by capitall punishments, should be understood to be forbidden in the parable, (as it is not) yet the stopping of their mouths, the dissipating and suppressing of them, some other coercive way, is not forbidden, as *Chrysostome* noteth upon the place, whom *Euthymius* and *Theophylactus* doe follow in this, allowing of coercive, though not capitall punishments.

Fifthly, *Calvin*, *Beza*, and our best Interpreters, take the scope and intent of that parable, not to be against the immoderate severity of Magistrates, but against the immoderate zeal of those who imagine to have the Church rid of all scandalous and wicked persons. as wheat without tares, corn without chaffe, a flock of sheep without goats, which hath been the fancy of *Novatians*, *Donatists* and *Anabaptists*. The parable therefore intimates unto us (as *Bucerus* upon the place expoundeth it) that when the Magistrate hath done all his duty in exercising his coercive power, yet to the worlds end there will be in the Church a mixture of good and bad. So that it is the universall and perfect purging of the Church, which is put off to the last judgement, not the punishment of particular persons. Neither doe the servants in the parable aske whether they should pluck up this or that visible tare, but whether they should goe and make the whole field rid of them; which field is the generall vi-

sible Church sowed with the seed of the Gospel; and so much for that argument.

Another negative argument is this. Such a coercive power in matters of religion, maketh men hypocrites and seven times more the children of hell. Christs Ordinances put upon a whole City, or a Nation, may more *civilize* and *moralize*, but never *christianize* them; saith M Williams, chap. 82. I answer, this argument doth utterly condemn *Josiah* Reformation as sinfull, for he caused all *Judah* to stand to the Covenant, as we heard before from 2 *Chron.* 34. 32. yet *Judah* became thereby more hypocriticall. *Treacherous Judah hath not turned unto me with her whole heart, but fainedly, saith the Lord,* speaking of those very days of *Josiah*, *Ier.* 3. 6. 10.

2. This argument maketh also against the punishment of adulteries, murders, thefts, robberies, &c. for unlesse filthy lust, hatred, and covetousnesse in the heart be mortified, and men convert freely and sincerely, the reducing of them to a morall conversation maketh them hypocrites, and nearer hell then before.

3. There are two sorts of Christs Ordinances: some for the *communion of Saints*: others, for the *conversion of sinners*: It is far from our thoughts to admit, much lesse to compell, a whole City, or Nation promiscuously, to the use of the former. But yet converting or reducing ordinances may and ought to put upon all whom they concern: The means must be used and mens hearts left to God.

Object. 3. This Doctrine of the Magistrates coercive power, maketh many to stumble at the Presbyterian Reformation: as a bloody Reformation, as a building of *Zion with blond*, and *Jerusalem with iniquity*, *Mic.* 3. 10. *Ans.* 1. We have not so learned Christ; we abominate the Popish and Prelaticall tyranny. We know that *the servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient: In meeknesse instructing those that oppose themselves; If God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth,* 2 *Tim.* 2. 24, 25. yet he who said so, could al-

so say, I would they were even out off the Church & the world. Gal. 5. 12. It is my souls desire that the secular coercive power may be put forth upon those only who can by no other means be reclaimed, & who can be no longer spared without a visible rupture in the Church, and the manifest danger of seducing and misleading many souls. A Presbytery is not so ill a neighbour, that no man who hath the least differing opinion may live beside it.

But 2. this objection doth as much strike against the New England government, as against the government of the neighbouring reformed Churches. For in New England there hath been severity enough (to say no worse) used against Hereticks and Schismatics. And here I must appeal the consciences of those who now plead so much for liberty of conscience and toleration in this Kingdome, were they able to root out the Presbyterians and their way, & could find civil authority inclinable to put forth the coercive power against it, whether in that case would they not say, that the Magistrate may repress it by strong hands, if it cannot be otherwise repressed. It is not without cause that I put this Quere to them; for *M. S. pag. 30.* (a passage before cited) doth allow of the Magistrates fighting against a doctrine or way which is indeed superstition, heresy, or schisme, and only pretendeth to be from God, when it is indeed from men. Also that pamphlet called *As you were*, p. 1. tells us that it was neither *Gamaliels* meaning, nor *M. Goodwins* meaning, that every way pretending to be from God must be let alone, but that only we are to refrain & let alone, till we are certain that we are out of danger of fighting against God, while we endeavour to overthrow it. Now I assume, there are some who plead for liberty of conscience, who profess that they are certain and fully assured, upon demonstrative proofs, that the Presbyteriall way is not from God, nor according to the mind of Jesus Christ (which is hinted to us both in the pamphlet last cited p. 5, 6. & in *OEOMAXIA* pag. 15.) Therefore according to their principles they must allow of the putting forth of the civil coercive power a-

The s doth Augustine argue against the Donatists, who pleaded so much for liberty of conscience to themselves, and yet gave no liberty of conscience to others where they were able to hinder it.

Contra liter. Petil. l. 2 c. 39. Noli ergo d. c. e, ab his, ab his à nostrâ conscientia, ut ad nostram fidem aliquem compellamus facitis enim ubi potestis; ubi autem non facitis, non potestis, sic et legem sic invidiam timore, sine respectum multitudinis.

gainst the Presbyteriall way. And if so, what a grand imposture is this? what a deceiving of the world? what a mocking of the Parliament and of the Kingdome? to plead generally for liberty of conscience, when they intend only liberty to themselves, not to others that are opposite to them. Which appeareth yet further by *the compassionate Samaritane*, pag. 10. he saith that no man is to be punished or discountenanced by authority for his opinion, *unlesse it be dangerous to the State*, pag. 23, 24. he discourseth against the opinion of Presbyterians as most dangerous to the State. Therefore he would have the Presbyterians discountenanced and punished by authority, and intendeth liberty only to the *Separatists*, *Anabaptists*, and the like.

I have done with three objections, but I have three words more to speak with *the compassionate Samaritane*, in answer to his three arguments for liberty of conscience, in which though all the strength of his discourse doth lie, I hope to make him ashamed of them, if he can at all blush.

His first argument is this, *Whatsoever a mans reason doth conclude to be true or false; to be agreeable or disagreeable to Gods word, that same to that man is his opinion or judgement, and so man is by his own reason necessitated to be of that mind he is: Now where there is a necessity, there ought to be no punishment, for punishment is the recompence of voluntary actions, therefore no man ought to be punished for his judgement.* *Ans. 1.* The question is not whether a man ought to be punished for his judgement, but whether a man ought to be punished for such professions or practises in religion, as are found to be pernicious, hurtfull, and destructive, to the glory of God, the truth of the Gospel, the Ordinances of Christ, the reformation of Religion, the peace of the Church. I know he will be ready still to set on foot his argument, for that a mans judgement and reason doth so necessitate and conclude him that he cannot chuse but profess and practice as he doth. Therefore I adde 2. this argument of his stinketh against the justice of the Parliament done or to be done upon Malignants, for as much as their judgement bindeth them, and their

their reason doth necessitate them to judge and speak and act as they doe. 3. It striketh at the very justice of God upon reprobate and unbelieving men, for as much as they cannot receive the things of God, 1 Cor. 2. 14. cannot hear the words of Christ, Job. 8. 43. cannot receive the spirit of truth, Job. 14. 17. But 4. the formall solution is this; there is a grosse fallacy in the argument, for we must distinguish necessity, there is a *naturall necessity*, which takes away the *divinus*, and a *morall necessity*, which takes away the *equivoca* of a mans being of another judgement or way. Again, there is an *absolute necessity*, and a *hypotheticall necessity*. Now the necessity of a Hereticks judging thus, because his reason concludeth him thus, is not a *morall necessity* or obligation upon him, as if it were not lawfull to him to judge or doe otherwise, (nay he ought and is bound by the word of God to judge otherwise, and doe otherwise) but it is a *naturall necessity*, (I meane of finfull nature) and that not *simple* and *absolute*, neither, but *hypotheticall* only, and upon this supposition that he hath not yet opened his eyes to receive more light, nor set his heart singly and in the feare of God to seeke more light. So that the plaine English of this *Samaritan* argument is this: Though Gods word bindeth a man to such a duty, yet if his owne erroneous, perverse and corrupt judgement conclude him so farre that his opinion cannot agree with the word of God, and himselfe cannot be brought to the practice of that necessary duty; such a man ought not to be punished. Or as if one should argue thus: He that hath borrowed from me a thousand pound, hath by his owne fault disabled himselfe to pay it: therefore I may not call him to an account for it.

But let us see whether this *Samaritan* be happier in his second argument. Which is this: *It's knowne that the Fathers, Generall Councils, Nationall Assemblies, Synods and Parliaments in their times have beene most grossely mistaken: and though the present times be wiser then the former, &c. yet since there remains a possibility of error, notwithstanding never so great presumptions to the contrary, one sort of men are not to compell another,*

ther, since this hazard is run thereby, that he who is in an error may be the constrainer of him who is in the truth.

Ans.w.r. Farewell Parliaments, if this argument hold good. The Parliament may fine no man, imprison no man, banish no man: they may compell no man to Assesments, Taxes, Excise, Billeting of Souldiers &c. And why forsooth? because they may not presume of an infallible and unerring spirit, but may erre, and have erred as well as other men.

2 He argueth from the hazard of compulsion, it may fall out that he who is in the truth may be constrained and persecuted. True: it may fall out so; and the Lord save us that we never be accessory to the persecuting of any who is in the truth, for so it may be againe through mens corruption and abuse of the magistrates power, (so the best things may be abused.)

But the liberty of conscience which he pleadeth for, runs a farre greater hazard, even the hazard of not only shaking but overturning truth, and peace, and religion, and ordinances, and Church, and soules, and all. To the ruine of all these, and to a thousand mischiefes, this kinde of liberty prepareth a broad way, and openeth a wide doore; and it is better, as he said, to live where *nothing is lawfull*, then where *every thing is lawfull*.

3. It followes not that because Parliaments may not presume of an unerring spirit, therefore they cannot be certaine that they are in the truth concerning this or that particular, so that they may confidently compell men to it, without feare of fighting against God. The acknowledgement of a possibility of error, and that we know but in part as long as we are in this world, may well consist with mens sincere perswasion from the light of Gods word, concerning this or that truth to be beleaved, or duty to be done.

I make haste to his third argument. *To compell me*, saith he, *against my conscience, is to compell me against what I beleve to be true, and so against my faith; now whatsoever is not of faith is sinne: to compell me therefore against my conscience, is to compell me to doe that which is sinfull.* And, *Again* I am con-
fessed

selled by the Apostle to be perswaded in my owne minde of the truth of that way wherein I serve the Lord, &c.

Ans. 1. This also shaketh loose Parliamentary authority; though the Gentleman who wrote these arguments pretendeth to stand for it, as much as any other. His argument will conclude (if it concludeth at all) that the Parliament may not compell Malignants, disaffected persons, Rebels, to any thing which they are not perswaded in their own minds to be right. It is against my conscience, wil the Antiparliamentary malignant say, to contribute to the war, to acknowledge this for a Parliament, as long as the King doth not acknowledge it; to reveal such a design, or to confesse this or that plot against the Parliament, whē I am examined; therefore I shal sin if I do so, for whatsoever is not of faith is sinne, and the Parliament shall compell me to sinne, if they compell me to doe so. *For though the thing may be in it selfe good, yet if it doe not appeare to be so to my conscience, the practice thereof in me is sinfull, which therefore I ought not to be compelled unto, saith the Samaritan.* If hee say his argument is only concerning matters of religion, I answer, Whatever his intention be in offering the argument, the very nature and force of the argument it selfe driveth universally against the compelling of a man to any thing whatsoever which is against his owne conscience, except he will say that it is a sinne to serve God against my conscience, but it is no sinne to serve the Parliament against my conscience. Saith not the Apostle, *WHATSOEVER is not of faith is sinne*: and, *He that doubteth is damned?*

But 2. when the Apostle saith so, he doth not exclude all manner of doubting, as the Casuists well observe, but only practicall doubts: for a man may have his conscience morally and practically certaine, so that he may doe such a thing lawfully, and with confidence that he is doing the will of God, and yet withall he may be perhaps fluctuating in some speculative doubts concerning that very thing. For instance: a Christian may come to the Lords Table with so much faith (I meane not now the faith of the person which

*Anes de Consc.
1 b. 1. cap 5.
Agere sepe l-
c. 1. man. nte
dubitacione
speculativa.*

which justifieth before God, but the faith of that action) as maketh his comming lawfull, though his thoughts be exercised with some doubts concerning the truth of his repentance and faith. A souldier may in faith goe out to warre, being assured that what he doth he may doe without sinne, but yet he hath happily his owne speculative doubts concerning the nature, causes, and ends of the warre. A man may with freedome and perswasion of minde (so farre as concerneth his practice) submit to Presbyterian government, who yet perhaps hath not thoroughly satisfied himselfe concerning the grounds and warrants which it hath from the word of God.

The *Samaritan* will reply (it may be) that he hath *no faith at all* concerning the practice it selfe, and that he may not be compelled to doe any thing against his conscience, for that wereto compell him to sinne. To take off this, I adde 3. If the thing be indifferent, I confesse no man is to be compelled to it against his conscience, for this hath bene the tyranny of Papists and Prelats, to compell men against their consciences to certaine rites which themselves acknowledged to be meerly indifferent, setting aside obedience to authority in such things, which (say they) is not indifferent. But if the word of God either directly or by necessary consequence, make the thing necessary, and such as we cannot leave undone without sinne and breach of duty; if there be such an obligation from the word, then may a man bee compelled to it, though against his conscience.

But then you will say, I am brought into a necessity of sinning, for if I obey not, I refuse a duty; if I obey, I doe it against my conscience. *Answ.* This necessity is not *absolute*, but *hypotheticall*, is not *per se*, but *per accidens*, so long as a man retaineth the error of his conscience, which he ought to cast away. You will say againe, supposing that my conscience cannot be satisfied, nor made of another opinion then now I am of, whether in this case, and so long as it standeth thus with me, may authority compell me to obey against my conscience, and so to sinne? or whether ought they

they not rather permit me not to obey, because my conscience forbiddeth me. *Ans.* The thing being necessary, as hath been said, it is *par tuior*, yea, *tutissima*, that a man be compelled to it, though it be against his erring and ill informed conscience. I know so long as he hath such an erring conscience he cannot but sin in obeying. But the sin of not obeying is greater and heavier: for this is a sin *in the fact it self*; that a sin *in the manner of doing only*, being not done in faith: this is a sin *of it selfe*, that is a sin only by accident: this is a sin *materially*; that is a sinne only *interpretatively* to him, because he thinks so: this is a sin *for the substance*; that a sin *for the circumstance*: this cannot be made to be no sin, for the nature of the duty cannot be altered; that may cease to be a sin. for the mans conscience may through Gods mercy and blessing upon the means, be better informed. So that there can be no doubt but this is every way a greater sin then that, and consequently more to be avoided. And thus I have dispatched the *Samaritane* who did undertake to pour oyl into the wounds of the Separation, *Medice cura te ipsum*.

The next thing comes in my way, is an argument brought for liberty of conscience, from *Gamaliels* speech in favour of the Apostles, *Act.* 5. 38, 39. *Refrain from these men & let them alone: for if this counsell or this work be of men, it will come to nought. But if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.* The strength of his argumentation did lie in this *Dilemma*; this doctrine or way is either of men, or of God. If it be of men, you shall not need to repress it, for it will come to nought of it self, which he proves by two *Historicall* instances of *Judas* and *Theudas*. If it be of God, it is in vain to strive against it, for it must prevail, and the counsell of heaven must stand. Therefore be what it will be, there is no danger to let it alone. But on the other side, if ye goe about to repress it, ye runne the hazard both of fighting against God, and of provoking the displeasure as well of the *Romanes* who have not permitted

unto you the liberty of capitall punishments, as of the people of the Jews who magnifie these men and their way. This is the whole substance, sense, and scope of that speech of *Gamaliel* in the Council. Hence did some argue for a toleration to *Servetus* and other Hereticks. And though this their way was then discovered to be their folly, yet their posterity approve their sayings. The same argument is used in that pamphlet called *Liberty of Conscience*, p. 34, 35. Upon the same foundation doth M^r *Goodwin* build in his *ΘΕΟΜΑΧΙΑ*, and the *Parænetick for Christian liberty*, pages, and 11. supposing the credit and authority of *Gamaliel's* speech, for matter of truth to be one and the same with other scriptures, and that there is nothing in all that speech but what is fully consonant with the word of God, unquestionably so acknowledged. So M^r *Goodwin* affirmeth, p. 10, and after him one *P. P.* which is by interpretation, *Poor Pamphleter*, falls in the same ditch; he might well call it *As you were*, for he makes that party to be never a jot more in the right. First of all he will contend with us that Protestant Interpreters doe commend *Gamaliel's* speech, and justify M^r *Goodwin's* Doctrine. Sure I am, *Calvin* takes *Gamaliel* to be a godlesse Politician, and a Neutralist, and his speech to have a great error in it. So saith *Pelargus* upon the place.

Calv. Refut. Error. M. Ser- veti. Gamali- eli: auctoritas perperam ab il- lis adducitur,

&c. Gamaliel ambigens quid rectum sit, quasi cæcus in tenebris, neque huc neque illuc se conferre audeat: sed suspendit sententiam. Interim ex veris principijs malam consequentiam elicit, nihil adhibendum esse consilijs, quia deus quod suum est tuebitur: quod autem ab hominibus est, possum ibi, &c. Putidius est quam ut resuratiendū gerat, quo quidam ex propheta- rum hominum dictis colligunt. Si de cultu dei & legis doctrinam habuerit, quæstio, non esse criminis morte aut vinculis dignum. Pelargus in Aff. 5. Sic in causa qualitate suspensus ha- ret; nec probare nec improbare potest apostolicam doctrinam. Et infra, Ex iudicio hominis in foro prudentis, nunquam Theologicè concludendum, quod à penis & correctionibus sit ces- sandum, quia deus ad scandala toleranda & in la prorsus tradenda ipse sufficiat. Magistratus enim officium ex 13 Rom. v. 4. & aliunde notum est.

But to save me a labour in looking upon other Interpreters, because the *Poor Pamphleter* appealeth first to *Piscator* and *Beza*, and afterwards to *Gualther*, (as M^r *Goodwin* did before

before him) let him be judged by these and no other. *Piscator* saith plainly, that *Gamaliel's* speech was not right, while he saith, *If this counsellor or this work be of men, it will come to nought*, his meaning being that therefore they should let it alone. *Beza* thinks *Gamaliel* spake not from love to the Apostles, but from fear of the *Romanes*. *Gualther* thinks it a most pernicious Tenent which some build upon this place, concerning the toleration of heresies and errors. Yea, *Beza de Hereticis à Magistratu puniendis*, citeth and approveth *Calvins* judgement, condemning *Gamaliel* for Neutrality, and his speech of error.

Piscat. Non fuit Petrus (Gamalielis consilium) ratione illius conexi, Si est ex hominibus consilium sit e opus hoc, dissolvitur quatenus voluit collegas inde collige, non ingitur esse ipsi

elaborandum ut opus illud dissolvant. Nam etsi novationes humano consilio & aulaciâ susceptæ, tandem dissolvuntur: tamen officium Magistratus est, operam dare ut illas compescant & prohibeant, & ejusmodi novatores pro merito puniant, sed præmittit legitima cognitio causæ. Beza, Num certe quod Evangelio faceret (Gamaliel) nisi Discipuli sui Sauli sunt dissimilis, (infra 22. 3.) sed quod homo esset moderatus & reveretur ne eadem Apostolorum contra Romanorum auctoritatem factam, gravius aliquid sequeretur. Gualther. Perniciosissimi dogmatis occasionem hinc venantur, quo nullius conatus quantumvis improbor, nullius etiam eructes quantumvis impios & blasphemos vi coercendos esse clamant. Unde aliud sequi non potest quam universæ disciplina tum politica tum ecclesiastica convulsio: frustra enim gerit Magistratus gladium.

These learned Divines have so well opened and cleared the point, that there is no place left for what the *Poor Pam-pler* hath said, yet two things more I must take notice of in him. He saith it was not for any fear of the *Jews* or *Romanes* that *Gamaliel* gave this advice. Not for fear of the people of the *Jews*, for that would be but at the *Apostles* apprehension, not execution. What non-sense is here? the people were angry at laying hands on the Apostles, but there was no fear of their wrath if the Apostles should be killed. Not for fear of the *Romanes* wrath, which, saith he, they often regarded not, as *Acts* 23. 27. A place which confuteh himself, for when the *Jews* would have killed *Paul*, *Claudius Lysias* came with an army and rescued him: a danger which we must think the wisdom of *Gamaliel* & the counsell could better foresee, then that rude and furious multitude, which would have killed *Paul*.

Next he will not yeeld so much as that *Gamaliel* did doubt whether the Apostles doctrine were from God or not, and that he made it an uncertain case. In this Sir you have faced about, sure you are not *As you were*, for Mr *Goodwin* himself *ΘΕΟΜΑΧΙΑ*, pag. 11. saith, that *Gamaliel* in point of judgement or conscience, was still but where he was, doubtfull and in suspense with himself about the businesse. Well, but why hath he now denied that *Gamaliel* made it a doubtfull and uncertain case? He might, saith he, and in all likelihood did thus expresse himself for fear or policy: So did *Hushai* strangely for an honest heart in that case of *Dauids*, in his counsell to *Abshalon*, 2 Sam. 17. yet *Hushai* made a round lie, even against his knowledge. Look about you my Masters, know whom ye trust; here's a generation of men, pretending to a more perfect and Saint-like reformation then others, but yet they think it no fault to lie and dissemble for good ends. Nay that's not all, pag. 4. answering to an objection made against those who doe commend and magnifie themselves, for greater gifts and graces then other men have; He tels us it is no fault for a man not only to compare, but preferre himself to another, and that on purpose to heighten his own estimation. Which how sweetly it agrees with *Pauls* doctrine, *Phil.* 2. 3. In lowlinesse of mind let each esteem other better then themselves; let every sober and moderate spirit judge. How now, poor *Pamphleter*? is it not enough for you to defend a lying tongue, but you will needs defend pride too? those are two (I am sure) of the seven things which are abomination to the Lord, *Prov.* 6. 16, 17. And here I leave the poor *Pamphleter* with this black mark upon him; I will not proceed to answer a fool in his foolishnesse, lest I be like unto him; thus far I have answered, lest he be wise in his own eyes.

Only I adde one thing more in answer to that argument for liberty of conscience, from *Acts* 5. 38, 39. Suppose *Gamaliels* principles to be good, and this speech to be of truth and authority, (which I have proved it is not) yet it is not applicable to the toleration of hereticks and sectaries now, that
case

case of the Apostles being extraordinary, and great miracles wrought by them, to the conviction of their most malignant opposites, *Act. 4. 16.*

Some it may be will object further from *Isa. 11. 9.* a place objected in the *Paranetick*, pag. 3. *They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountaine.* And *Luke 9. 54.* *And when his disciples James and John saw this, they said, Lord wilt thou that we command fire to come downe from heaven, and consume them, even as Elias did? But he turned and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of, for the Sonne of man is not come to destroy mens lives, but to save them.* A place objected by *Nicolaides Refut. tract. de Eccl. cap. 4.*

Ans. That prophecy concerning the Christian Church, *Isa. 11. 9.* is not to be understood generally, as the word foundeth, for then adulterers, murtherers, &c. are not to be hurt and destroyed by the Christian Magistrate. The meaning therefore is, that those who have formerly been as Lions & Wolves to the poor Lambs of Christ, shall either be renewed and changed in their nature, or (which is more probable) shall be so restrained and overawed by the power and providence of God, that it shall not be in their power to hurt or destroy any of the Saints for the truth or the Gospels sake. *ὁ δὲ ὁ μὴ δύναται ἀπολέσαι ὁ δὲ ὁ,* *Neither shall they be able to destroy any:* So the *Septuagints*, God shall so preserve and protect his Church, that she shall be like a Lamb among Wolves, or like a Kid among Leopards, or like a Childe putting his hand on the Cockatrice den, and yet shall not be hurt nor destroyed thereby. And as this prophetic guardeth and protecteth none but those who are in Gods holy Mountaine, professors and lovers of the Gospel, and the ordinances of Jesus Christ: So our Lord Christ rebuke, *Luke 9. 54. 55.* striketh not against any just and necessary severity, but against a private vindictive spirit, and carnall blinde zeale: It being the purpose of Christ, then, most of all other times, not to exercise violence, (as tyrants doe in conquering new dominions) but to conquer and subdue soules by his doctrine and miracles, with a spirit of

meeknesse, especially having to doe with the *Samaritans*, or any other who had never yet knowne nor received the Gospel. Even those who say most for a coercive power to be put forth against Heretickes and Schismaticks, doe not allow of the compelling of Infidels, Pagans, or Jewes, by externall punishments to receive the Gospel.

But now after all this debate upon the question in hand, and after all these arguments for the affirmative and for the negative, some will happily desire and expect some further modification and explanation of the matter in certain positive conclusions or distinguishing assertions. For whose satisfaction I say,

First, there are five sorts of toleration proceeding from five different principles. 1. Of *indifferency*. 2. Of *policy*. 3. Of *pretended conscience and equity*. 4. Of *necessity*. 5. Of *charity*.

The first is when the Magistrate is a Nullifidian, Neutralist, and Adiaphorist, esteeming as *Gallio* did, *questions of the law* and of the Ordinances of Christ, to be of words & names, or things which he careth not for. *Acts* 18, 14, 15.

The second is when the Magistrate tolerateth hereticks and sectaries for his own profit, or some such interest of policy, such as maketh the Pope to tolerate the Jews in *Italy*, yea in *Rome* it self, where they have their synagogues, circumcision and liturgies, because his profit by them is greater then by the very Courtizans; yea, besides their certain tribute, he doth sometimes impose on them a subsidy of ten thousand crownes extraordinary for some service of the State, as *Europa speculum*, pag. 221, 222. hath represented to us. And whether the States of the united Provinces do not grant tolerations upon the like interests of their own profit, I leave it to the judgement of their own consciences.

The third is the toleration pleaded for here, by Mr *Williams*, the compassionate Samaritan, &c. as if justice, equity, duty, and conscience should make the Magistrate forbear all coercive power in matters of religion. All these three I utterly condemn, and the former arguments doe strongly militate against them.

The

The fourth kinde of toleration, arising from necessity which hath no law, may well be mourned for as an affliction, it cannot be condemned as the Magistrates fault. Even a *David* may have cause to complain that the sons of *Zeruiab* are too strong for him. In such cases as these, our Divines have given a relief to the conscience of the Christian Magistrate, purging him of the guilt of this kind of toleration; provided always, that he hath endeavoured so farre as he can to extirpate heresies, and to establish the true religion only. Which hath nothing to doe with that principle now defended, that the Magistrate though he may never so easily, yet he ought not nor cannot without sin exercise a coercive power in matters of religion.

Rekerman curs. philof. disp. 35. probl. 14. doth agree to these words of the Jesuit Becanus. Tametsi princeps aut Magistratus Catholicus omni- bus modis impedire debeat, libertatem religionis, ut dictum est; si tamen il facere non possit sine

graviori incommodo boni publici, potest eam tolerare: tanquam minus malum, ad evitandum majus, quod alioqui sequeretur. Polan. com. in Dan. 3. 29. Magistratum Christianum docet veram religionem, &c. in sua reipub. constitutere, & quidem solam, &c. Incidunt tamen nonnunquam tempora quibus optimi Reges ac Magistratus, pacis publicae retinendae causâ, vitædarumque intestinarum seditonum necessitate abducti, coguntur exemplo peritorum navium veluti tempestate cedere, & supersticiosos errantesque ferre: ut prius aliqui & reipub. & religio habeatur quam nullæ. Both these Writers doe purposely frame this answer to the question concerning toleration.

The fifth and last is that kind of toleration whereby the Magistrate when it is in the power of his hand to punish and extirpate, yet having to doe with such of whom there is good hope either of reducing them by convincing their judgments, or of uniting them to the Church by a safe accommodation of differences, he granteth them a *Superse- deas*; or though there be no such grounds of hope concerning them, yet while he might crush them with the foot of power, in Christian pity and moderation, he forbearth so far as may not be destructive to the peace and right government of the Church, using his coercive power with such mixture of mercy as createth no mischief to the rest of the Church. I speak not only of bearing with those who are weak in the faith, *Rom. 15. 1.* but of sparing even those who have perverted the faith, so far as the word of God and rules of Christian moderation would have severity tempe-

Calv. Besut. Error. Mich. Serveti. Ego hic teneo id est prudentia & moderatio, ne vel pro causa incognita tumultum se effundat principer, vel immani servit ad sanguinem fundendum

red with mercy : that is (as hath been said) so far as is not destructive to the Churches peace, nor shaketh the foundations of the established form of Church government, and no further : these last two kinds of toleration are allowed ; the first three are wholly condemned.

In Roger. Deead. 2. Serm. 8. p. 70.
Potius inter errantes, & alios sectu
in errorem abducere, inque erro-
ribus retinere contententes, blasphem-
maret se turbatores, in o subversores
ecclesiarum, in e credi possunt. Ideo
tam in capitis supplicio non protin-
us effundendus est omnis qui errat.
Et quæ minis & increpationibus
cura i possunt, non debent acerbiri-
bus clui & puniri. Mollus, in re
quæ huius optimus est. Est & mul-
ta pecuniaria. Si te carceres in
quos concludi possunt, re alius in-
ficiant, &c. Sed timor dei, æquitas
& prudentia iudicis intelligit ex
circumstantiis quomodo puniendi
sint in seductores, & seductis
per a d gmata & perverac rebel-
lio, aut stolidi & minime mali o-
su crudelitas.

My second distinction is concerning the punishments inflicted by the Magistrate upon Hereticks. They are either *exterminative*, or *medicinall*. Such as blaspheme God or Jesus Christ, or who fall away themselves and seduce others to Idolatry, ought to be utterly cut off according to the law of God. But as for other Hereticks, they are to be chastened with medicinall punishments as mulcts, imprisonments, banishment, by which through Gods blessing they may be humbled, ashamed, and reduced. Not that I think the proper end of civill and coercive punishments to be the conversion and salvation of the Delinquent, (which is the end of Church censures & of Excommunication it self) but that the right method of proceeding doth require that

the Magistrate inflict the smaller punishments first, that there may be place for the offenders bringing forth of fruits worthy of repentance, and he may be at least reduced to externall order and obedience, being perswaded by the terror of civill power, which may and doth (when blessed of God) prove a preparation to free obedience, as the needle is to the thread, or the law to the Gospel, servile fear to filiall fear: and that the Magistrate step not up to the highest justice till other punishments have proved ineffectuall: which made *Constantine* punish the Hereticks of his time not with death, but with banishment, as is manifest by the Proem of the Councell of *Nice*. In such cases it may be said to the Heretick of the Magistrate, *He is the Minister of God to thee for good,*
more

more good I am sure, then if the golden reins of civill justice should be loosed, and he suffered to doe what he list. Therefore *Augustine* likeneth this coercive punishing of Hereticks to *Sarah* her dealing roughly with *Hagar*, for her good and humiliation. I conclude, connivence and indulgence to Hereticks is a *cruell mercy*: correction is a *mercifull severity*, and a *wholesome medicine*, as well to themselves as to the Church,

*Magis illa persequatur Sa-
ram superbiendo, quam illam
Sara coerere do-
illa enim domi-
na faciebat is-
juriam, ista im-
ponebat super-
bia disciplinam.*

Ep 50. Beza de Heret. à Magistr. puniend. Taceo quod toties adversus Dmā istas & Circumcellones Augustinus testatur experientia ipsa doctio, plerumque eo esse inge in ut nulla re magis quam severitate in officio committantur: ad id ut quod initio pœne formidine vitæ nunc id ipsum postea libenter fugiant, & asperitatem illam sibi saluberrimam fuisse testentur.

Thirdly, we must distinguish betwixt the coercive power of the Magistrare in matters of religion, and the abuse of that power; when we justifie the power, we justifie not the abuse of it; and when we condemn the abuse, we must not therefore condemn the power. *Acontius Strazay, Stat. li. 3. pag. 147.* buildeth much upon this notion, let a man imagine that his lot is fallen in those times when the truth is persecuted by authority, when the Magistrate justifieth the wicked and condemneth the godly, (which hath been the more ordinary condition of the Church) and then let him accordingly shape the resolution of the question concerning the Magistrates punishing of Hereticks. Will not a man think (saith he) it had been better that Hereticks had not been punished, then that upon pretence of coercive power against Hereticks, the edge of the Civill sword be turned towards the Preachers and Professors of the truth? But notwithstanding of all this, truth must be truth, and justice must be justice, abuse it who will. Parliaments and Synods have been many times enemies to the truth, and have abused their power in matters of religion: must we therefore deny the power of Parliaments and Synods? or must we cast off any ordinance of God because of the abuse of it? If the thing were indifferent, the abuse might take away the use: not so, when the thing is necessary. I adde (which is well observed by *Calvin*) when *Jeremiah* was

accused and arraigned as worthy to die, his defence is not this, *You ought not to vindicate religion with the sword, nor put any man to death for the cause of conscience*, but this is it, *Know ye for a certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon your selves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof: for of a truth the Lord hath sent me unto you to speak all these words in your ears, Jer. 26. 15.* Neither did ever the Apostles (though often persecuted) plead the unlawfulness of persecuting men for heresie, but they pleaded the goodness of their cause, and that they were no Hereticks.

Fourthly, I distinguish betwixt bare opinions or speculations, and scandalous or pernicious practices, as Mr. Burton doth in his *Vindication of the Independent Churches*, pag. 70. *You must distinguish*, saith he, *betwixt mens consciences and their practices. The conscience simply considered in it self is for God, the Lord of the conscience alone to judge, as before. But for a mans practices (of which alone man can take cognizance) if they be against any of Gods Commandments of the first or second Table; that appertains to the civill Magistrate to punish, who is for this cause called Custos utriusque Tabulæ, the keeper of both Tables: for this he citeth Rom. 13, 3, 4. and addeth. So as we see here what is the object of civill power, to wit, actions good or bad, not bare opinions, not thoughts, not conscience, but actions. And this is his answer to the Interrogatory concerning the lawfull coercive power of civill Magistrates in suppressing heresies. In which he handsomely yeeldeth the point, for who doth advise the Parliament to punish men for their thoughts, or bare opinions, or for conscience simply considered in it self? It is for preaching, printing, spreading of dangerous opinions, for schismaticall, pernicious and scandalous practices, for drawing factions among the people contrary to the Covenant, for resisting the reformation of religion, for lying and railing against the Covenant, the Parliament, the assembly of Divines, or against the reformed Churches.*

Fifthly, we must distinguish the persons who are in the error,

Bullinger. ubi supra. Dum enim fides falsa in an mo scipula latet, non inficit quonquam nisi infidelem, puniri non potest infidelis: non aut in fide latet erumpit in blasphemias, ac deum palam lacerat & proximos quoque inficit, coercendus est blasphemus & sedulior, ne molus luvius sitpat.

Error, whether *Heresiarchs* and *ring-leaders*, or whether *followers* only, and such as do *acti agere*; whether *schismatizing*, or *schismatized*; whether more *weake*, or more *wilfull*; whether *seducers*, or *seduced*; whether *pious*, or *prophane*, or *Pharisaicall*; whether *peaceable*, *moderate*, *calme*, *docile*, or *turbulent*, *factious*, *fierce*, *railing*, *obstinate*, *incorrigible*. So that when the thing is brought from the *Thesis* to the *Hypothesis*, there is very much to be trusted to the prudence, circum-

speciō, and observation of those who are in authority, to set apart those for punishment who resist Reformation, as *James* and *Jambres* did resist *Moses*, 2 *Tim.* 3. 8. and are said to trouble the Churches, *Act.* 15. 24 *Gal.* 1. 7. & 5. 12. and to trouble them more or lesse, as they are more or lesse troublers of Israel. Let not the Magistrate feare to say to every *Achan*, *Why hast thou troubled us? the Lord shall trouble thee this day*, *Jos.* 7. 25. Other seduced ones the Magistrate is to command *sub pœna*, and cause them stand to the Covenant of God, as *Iosiah* did, if they cannot be perswaded to doe it willingly. If the Magistrate miscarry in a misapplication of his coercive power, let him answer to God and his conscience for his error. It is not in my thoughts either to plead for or allow of the persecuting of pious and peaceable men.

Sixtly, as the *reformation* and *preservation* of religion differ much from the *propagation* of religion: so the coercive power put forth in the suppressing of Heresie or Schisme, is a thing of another nature then the compelling of Infidels by the sword to receive the Gospell. Let the *Pope*, and the *Spaniard*, and *Mahomet* propagate religion by the sword; that is not it I plead for. None of the Gentiles was of old compelled to be circumcised, but being circumcised he might be compelled to keepe the Law of *Moses*. Also if strangers of the Gentiles were sojourning or trading in the land of Is-

The Papists fall very farre short in distinguishing the persons and proportioning the punishments. For instance see *Tannerus Theol. Schol. Tom. 3. disp. 1. quæst. 8. dub. 6. n. 129. Hæc pœna (mōtis) ubi recepta est, affici, tum non nec relapsos, etiam si converti denuo veli t, tum omnes post admonitiōe pertuice, etiam si nunquam relapsi sint. Atque ut qui nec re lapsi sunt, nec in perditione perseverant, nec ali speraverunt, licet in rigore mortem nihilominus promerentur, ordinari tamen mortis pœna affici non solent, sed carceris perpetui. As for that punishment commonly called *Irregularity*, he will have it to fall not only upon the Hereticke himselfe but upon his sonnes and nephewes. *Ib. n. 111.**

rael, they might be compelled to abstaine from the publicke and scandalous breaking of the morall Law, *Nehem.* 13. 16. 21. *Exod.* 20. 10. which things did belong to the preservation, not to the propagation of religion.

Seventhly, to establish by a law the toleration, liberty and immunity of such a Sect or Way, so as all that will may joyne in it, is a thing of most dangerous consequence. But to permit such or so many persons of a Sect to enjoy the liberty of their owne consciences and practices, with such limitations as shall be found necessary, is a tolerable *Toleration*, I meane a thing though not to be wished, yet to be allowed. The *Romans* in their Heathenish way did put a difference betwixt these two: when they abolished the *Bacchanalian* festivity and discharged it, they granted no toleration to such as pleased still to observe it: only they were content that some few upon leave first obtained from the Senate, and upon certaine conditions, might be permitted to continue their owne practice, as to their part.

T. Livius Decad. 4 l. 9 p. 696. edit. Basil. 1549. Datum deinde consilium negotium est, ut omnia Bacchanalia Rome primum, deinde per totam Italiam ducerent: extra quam si qua ibi vetusta ara, aut signum consecratum esset; in reliquum deinde S. C. commum est, ne qua Bacchanalia Rome, neve in Italia essent. Si quis tale sacrum solenne & necessarium duceret, nec sine religione & piaculo se id omittere posset apud Praetorem urbanum presteretur: Praetor Senatui consulcret si ei permissum esset, cum in Senatu ceptum non minus esset, ita id sacrum faceret, dum ne plus quinque sacrificio interessent.

Eighthly, there is also a great difference betwixt *Toleration* and *Accommodation*. By *accommodation* I understand an agreement of dissenters with the rest of the Church in practicall conclusions, so that if any difference be, it is in their principles, not in their practices, and so not obvious, apparent and scandalous to people. I had rather goe two miles in an *Accommodation*, (yea as many as the word of God will suffer me) then one mile in a *Toleration*. For in that way there is no schisme, no rent in Israel, but the Lord one, and his name one. In this way there is *Temple against Temple*, and *Altar against Altar*, *Manasseh against Ephraim*, and *Ephraim against Manasseh*, and they both against *Judah*: a misery from which the Lord deliver us. I doe not deny, but if a safe and happy

happy Accommodation be impossible, such a Toleration as I have formerly spoken of, is not to be disallowed. But the Accommodation is a more excellent way, and that which is to be rather embraced, yea endeavoured for and followed after, according to the Apostles rule, *Phil.* 3.15, 16. (which *Isidorus Pelusiota* did long since observe to be the best and happiest way of putting an end to divisions and dissensions in the Church) *Let us therefore as many as be perfect be thus minded: and if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you. Nevertheless whereto we have already attained, let us walke by the same rule, let us minde the same thing.*

If it be said, *Quorsum hac?* what doe I conclude from all this? It is to leave this confirmed and sealed truth in the bosome of the High Court of Parliament, and of all inferior Magistrates according to their place and interest, under them, That it is their duty, *without respect of persons*, to endeavour the extirpation of Heresie and Schisme, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine, and the power of godlinesse, lest they partake in other mens finnes, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and his name one in the three kingdomes: And to endeavour the discovery of all such as have beene or shall be evil instruments, by hindring the reformation of Religion, or making any faction or party amongst the people, contrary to the solemn League and Covenant, that they may be brought to publick triall, and receive condign punishment, &c. Which as they had great reason to sweare and covenant, so now they have greater reason to performe accordingly; and as it is in it selfe a duty, and we tyed to it by the oath of God, and his voves that are upon us, as finally as ever the sacrifice to the hornes of the altar. So we are to take speciall notice of the unhappy consequences which follow upon our slacknesse, slownesse and stultifolnesse, in fulfilling that sacred Oath, &c. The hindring of uniformity, the continuing and increasing of a rupture both in Church and State, the retarding of Reformation, the spreading and multiplying of Heresies and Sects, while every one doth

what

what is right in his owne eyes; the great scandall given both to enemies and friends: to enemies, who are made to thinke worse of our Covenant, because we doe not performe it: *The Review of the Covenant*, printed at Oxford, upbrai-
deth us with this: that Heresie and Schisme was never more suffered, and lesse suppressed in London, then since we sware to endeavour the extirpation of the same: To friends also, who are mightily stumbled by our promising so much, and performing so little in this kinde: which the *Wallachian* Classis in their late Letter to the Reverend Assembly of Divines at *Westminster* (printed before *Apollonius* his Booke) doth sadly and seriously lay to our consciences.

*Judicent con-
scientia vestra,
quomodo omne
Heresium ge-
nus inultum*

*permitti, nullifaria schismatum semina impunè spargi, & prophanæ errorum dogmata passim
in vulgus proferri possint in illa civitate, quæ tam expresse, sancto & severo juramento sese a-
ram Deo devinxit, ad omnes erroris, hærese, schismata è domo Dei ejicienda.*

A Parænetick.

BEfore I end, I have a word of exhortation for the five Apologists, and such others as shall (I trust) agree with the Churches of both Kingdomes, not only in one Confession of Faith, but in one Directorie of Worship. Me thinks I heare them calling to me to say on. *Et tu mi fili?* said *Cæsar*. And must you also brethren, give a wound to the body of Christ? Doe not, O doe not involve your selves in the plea of Toleration with the Separatists and Anabaptists. Do not partake in their *Separation*, lest you partake in their *suppression*. Let us heare no more Paræneticks for Toleration, or liberty of Conscience: but as many as you will for a *just* and *mercifull Accommodation*: a thing mentioned by that Author, *ps. 3.* but not sought after. If you be the Sonnes of peace, you shall be characterized by this *Shibboleth*, you will call for Accommodation, not for Toleration; for one way, not for two. Let there be no strife between us and you, *for we be brethren*: and is not the *Canaanite* and the *Perizzite* yet in the land? O let it not be told in *Gath*, nor published in the streets of *Ashkelon*. Let it not be said, that there

Gen. 13. 7, 8.

there can be no unity in the Church without Prelacy. Brethren I charge you *by the Roes and by the Hindes of the field,* Cant. 2. 7. that ye awake not nor stirre up *Jesua Christ till he please*; for his rest is sweet and glorious with his welbeloved. It shall bee no grieve of heart to you afterward, that you have pleased others as well as your selves, and have stretched your principles for an Accommodation in Church government, as well as in Worship, and that for the Churches peace and edification; and that the eares of our common enemies may tingle, when it shall be said, *The Churches of Christ in England have rest, and are edified, and walking in the feare of the Lord, and in the joy of the Holy Ghost are multiplyed.* Act. 9. 31. Alas, how shall our divisions and contentions hinder the preaching and learning of Christ, and the edifying one another in love! *Is Christ divided?* saith the Apostle. There is but one Christ, yea the head and the body makes one Christ, so that you cannot divide the body without dividing Christ. Is there so much as a seame in all Christs garment? Is it not woven throughout from the top to the bottome? Will you have one halfe of Israel to follow *Tibni*, and another halfe to follow *Omri*? O brethren, we shall be one in heaven, let us packe up differences in this place of our pilgrimage, the best way wee can. Nay, we will not despaire of unity in this world. Hath not God promised to give us *one heart and one way*? and that *Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim, but they shall slee upon the shoulders of the Philistims toward the East, they shall spoile them of the East together?* Jer. 32. 39. Ezech. 11. 19. Isa. 11. 13. 14. Hath not the Mediator (whom the Father heareth alwayes) prayed that all his may be one? Brethren, it is not impossible, pray for it, endeavour it, presse hard toward the marke of Accommodation. How much better is it that you be one with the other Reformed Churches, though somewhat straitned and bound up, then to bee divided though at full liberty and elbow-roome? *Better is a dry morfell and quietnesse therewith, then a house full of sacrifices with strife.* Pro. 17. 1. Doth not the Solemne League and Covenant binde you sincerely, really, and constantly to endeavour the *rest*

Mat. 7. 1.

Joh. 7. 24.

Lev. 19. 17.

Pro. 27. 6.

Zech. 8. 19.

1 Pet. 3. 11.

rest (marke *nearest*) uniformity and conjunction in religion; and that you shall not suffer your selves directly or indirectly to be withdrawne from this blessed union and conjunction. I know there is a spirit of jealousie walking up and downe. O beware of groundlesse feares and apprehensions, *Judge not, lest you be judged. Judge not according to appearance, but judge righteous judgement.* Many false rumours and surmises there have beene concerning the Presbyterian principles, practices, designs, *Expertus loquor.* I am perswaded if there were but a right understanding one of anothers intentions, the Accommodation I speak of would not bee difficult. Brethren, if you will not hearken to wholesome counsell, you shall be the more inexcusable. I have in my eye that law of God, *Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart: thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sinne upon him. Faithfull are the wounds of a friend. Therefore love the truth and peace. Yea, seeke peace and pursue it.*

Consider what I say. The Lord guide your feet in the way of peace. And O that God would put it in your hearts to cry downe *Toleration*, and to cry up *Accommodation!*

Amen, Amen.

FINIS.

An ⁶
EXAMINATION
Of
SUNDRY SCRIPTURES

alleged by our BRETHREN,

In Defence of some Particulars
Of their

CHURCH-WAY.

Humbly submitted to the Sight
and Censure of any judicious Divine:

ESPECIALLY
Of such of the Reverend Godly-Learned
ASSEMBLY as vouchsafe to read it.

By R. Hollingworth, M. A. of Magd. Col. Camb.

IMPRIMATUR, J^a. Cranford.

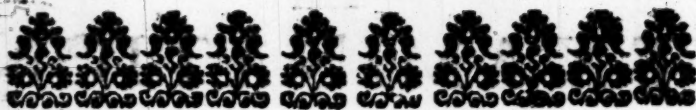
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The P R E F A C E to the Reader.



True Propositions and lawfull Practices should not (much lesse untrue and unlawfull) be fashed on God by misinterpretation of his Word. Every false Exposition of Scripture is a belying of God, countering of the King of kings hand, and an addition to his Word. The Way of Independencie, pretending to be the Way of God, the Scripturall Way, the onely Way (as the most rigid Separation, Anabaptism, Familism, also doth) produceth sundry Texts in Preaching, Writing and Conference, (I conceal persons, times and places, for reserved Reasons) to witnesse the right of her Claim; Which, for the most part, she also in Print produceth, upon the same or like occasion, in Answ. to 32 q. Apol. for Church-covenant, Answ. to 9 Pos. T.W. to W.R. M^r T. & M^r M. to M^r H. I, as the Lord hath enabled me, have conferred with and examined some speciall Witnesses; they answer (if I understand them aright) that they can witnesse no such thing as they are produced for. If this be acknowledged, I have my full end: If any will reexamine them, I beseech him not to put them on the Rack (a) nor to meddle with by-standers or by-matters, but to minde the thing in hand. If he shew that their Testimonies are fit and full for the purpose, he doeth something: if not (whatsoever else he do) he doeth nothing. I publish not all their Deposition, not all that is materiall; but so much as I conceive at present sufficient. If any of the Brethren (amongst whom M. Cotton is deservedly the chief) seem in my apprehension to come nearer the Truth then others, I willingly take notice of it, both to honour their Ingenuity, and to help Accommodation (if it may be) between us and them. What strength is in this Writing, I confesse it is borrowed; the Weaknesse of it is mine own, for which I have onely this Excuse, That I am not willingly wilfull, but shall be ready, as God shall assist, to give or receive further Satisfaction.

(a) 2 Pet. 3.
16.



I

An Examination of sundry Seriptures alleadged by our Brethren in Defence of some Particulars of their Church-way.

1.



Ashering of Churches in the name of Christ, and setting up of Church-Ordinances cannot be unlawfull for Want of a Commandment from man, as appears by the Doctrine and Practice of the Apostles, Acts 4. 19. and 5. 29.

See almost the same Argument verbatim, in Answer to 32. q. p 35.

The Apostles never taught or practised to gather or separate some Christians from others, one part of this true Church, and another part of that (especially persons which themselves converted not) to make a purer Church, neither with nor without the Magistrates Authority. The Apostles (being not of men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ, Gal. 1. 1.) (b) did preach not onely without, but against the peremptory Command and Laws of the Magistrate, Acts 4. 17, 18, 21. & 5. 28. But you professe not such a Latitude of opposition against Magistracie; nor do you hold (I suppose) that our godly non-conformable Brethren, suspended by the Bishops, or New-England-Ministers, deposed by their Churches (to say nothing of Ministers deprived by the Parliament for Malignancie) are bound, by the Apostles example, to execute their Ministry in the Churches, notwithstanding such Suspension or Deposition: or that Master Ward, deposed by the Church at Rotterdam, was bound to execute his Ministry there, before his Restauration.

Answer.

(b) This was proper to the Apostles or Apostolike men. Answer. 10 9 pag. p 76. T.W. 10 W. R. p. 67.

An Examination of sundry Scriptures

tion. Had you such an immediate Commission, sealed from heaven, and such infallible direction of the holy Ghost, as the Apostles had, you might more boldly imitate them therein; especially if the case of living under a Christian Magistrate, intending, endeavouring, and consulting with Divines, about the Reformation of the Church; and of living under a heathen Magistrate, and professed publike enemy of the Church, were not much different. Would our Brethren in *New-England* allow a Presbyterian Church, or but a New-Independant Church, to be erected in *New-England*, against the will and minde of the Magistrates and Churches there (a)? Our Brethren at *London* (I hear) do hold it (at least) unreasonable, to gather Churches now: how their opinion and yours are reconcileable, I see not. It may be the Brownists, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Familists, and other grosse Heretikes and Schismatices, in old or new-*England*, do also pretend the Doctrine and Practice of the Apostles for the setting up of their Churches; yet our godly and conscientious Divines do therein oppose them.

(a) T. W. to W. R.
W. R. p. 31.

T. W. to W. R.
p. 13. & 14. &
Answ. to 32. q.
p. 43. alleadg-
eth the same
things.

2. *Seven, eight, or nine may make a Church.* In Adams and Noahs time there was not above seven or eight; Will you deny them the being of a Church? What Will you make of Christ, and of his family, which were not above twelve, besides himself: and of the first Foundamentals of the Church of Ephesus, which were about twelve? The number, in the first beginning, of the greatest Church, was small enough in comparison, Acts 1. 15.

The case of Adam and Noah was extraordinary; there were no more in the world, and therefore could be no more in the Church. Adam and his wife, and first sons, yea Adam himself was the Church, if then there was any: yet you hold not that two or three, yea one, may make a Church. Cain lawfully married his own sister, May other men now do the like? Twelve are more then seven or eight, and an hundred and twenty a competent number; yet it appears not that they were called or counted a Church, till they were more encreased.

fed. If there were no more Believers in *Ephesus* then twelve (as there was, viz. *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, which knew more then *Johns* Baptism, *Acts* 18. 26. cum 24. 25. if not others) yet there were more in *Jerusalem* then one hundred and twenty, even five hundred Brethren at once (c). *Adam* and *Noah*, (c) 1 Cor? with their Families, if they were Churches, they were but 15. 6. Domesticall Churches, not Congregationall. What will you make of Christ and his Disciples? a Church distinct from the Jewish? You know Christ did not make a new Church, or gather men into it; but lived and died a member of this Jewish Church (d). (d) Answ. to Had they been called a Church, as some households are in the 32. 9. P. 14. New Testament, (e) you had some more pretexts; and yet (e) Phile. 2. they had been but a Domesticall Church, many whereof may witnesse T. W. be within a Congregationall, and especially within a Nation. 10 W. R. all Church. It is an Argument you will not own: Seven, eight, twelve, may make a domesticall Church, ergo, they may make a congregationall. If seven or eight may make a Church, then two hundred persons in a city may well make twenty distinct Churches, and, by consequence, so many Independent Judicatures.

3. A visible Church in the New Testament consists of no more The like you in number then may meet in one place, in one Congregation, have, Answ. to 1 Cor. 11. 20. & 14. 23. 32. 9. P. 9.

* If you seek for Congregations meeting for Prayer, hearing the Word, Sacraments, in one place, or that they were called by the name of Church, or that all Believers in some cities and countreys, when they might, did meet in one place, I will not contend: many such Churches or Congregations we have in *England*; and the Believers in every Christian Church, even in the Church of *England*, and in the Jewish Church also, might and did, at first, meet in one place. To say nothing that all the people of the Jews (being about six hundred thousand) are called one Congregation, and are frequently in the old Testament said to come together; and that * Myriads did come together, *Acts* 22. 22. How will you make out this Inference? The Church of *Corinth* did meet in one place, Answer. * One Myriad is ten thousand.

An Examination of sundry Scriptures

and so did *Antioch, Jerusalem*; therefore no Church in the New Testament must consist of more then can meet in one place. To say there was a Church in *Adams house*, and in *Noahs*, and also in *Philemons, Aquila's* and *Priscilla's* houses, therefore the Church in the Old and New Testament must be Domesticall, is an inconsequent Illation, contrary to plain Scripture. Is not the Argument as good if it run thus? All the believing *Corinthians* were of the Church of *Corinth*, 1 Cor. 1. 1. cum 2 Cor. 6. 11. The *Smyrnaeans* and *Laodiceans*, of the Church of *Smyrna* and *Laodicea*, Coloss. 2. 1. & 4. 16. Revel. 2. 8. & 3. 14. whether they were more or fewer (hence in every City, and every Church, seem to expound one another, Acts 14. 21, 23. cum Tit. 1. 5. Acts 16. 4, 5.) And it cannot be shewed that any Church, how numerous soever it grew, was divided into two or more Churches, or that there were more Churches, then one in any citie or town; therefore the Believers in any one citie or town may be but one Church, whether they can meet in one place or no. *Paul* writes not onely to them which might and did meet in one place, but to all that in every place (not thorowout the world, as appears, 2 Cor. 1. 1. written to the same persons, 1 Cor. 5. 1, 2. cum 2 Cor. 2. 1, 2. neither is this a Catholike Epistle) but in all *Achaia*, call upon the Name of the Lord; and therefore these words, ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ (besides, that being but a Supposition, they put nothing in being, and may fitly be translated, in idipsum, for the same, or in one, which, though they met in an hundred places, they might do, Acts 4. 26. cum Psal. 2. 2. 1 Chro. 12. 17.) prove no more that those to whom *Paul* writ were of one Congregation, then *James* calling the twelve tribes scattered abroad one Assembly, Synagogue, or Church, James 1. 1. cum 2. 2. & 5. 34. or *Pauls* mentioning the *Hebrews* assembling themselves together, Heb. 10. 25. doth prove that the scattered *Hebrews* were no more then one particular Congregation, which might and did meet in one place; especially seeing the Apostle writes to the *Achaians*, 2 Cor. 1. 1. 1 Cor. 16. 1. cum 2 Cor. 9. 2. & 11. 10. Now there were other Churches in that Region (f) at least two, *Corinth* and *Cenchrea*, Rom. 16. 1. which I read was the Port of *Corinth*, (g) yea oppidum *Corinthiorum*

(f) Cotton
Kotes, p. 46.
(g) R. M.
and W. T. to
C. H. p. 32.

thorum navium stationes celeberrimum, & ideo frequens valde & populosum (b) : To say nothing of the Church whereof (b) *Gaius* the Corinthian was the Host, 1 Cor. i. 18. Rom. 16. 23. in Rom. 16. 3 Job.) Hence there is mention of Churches to which the women he writes to (for he saith, *Your Women*, not *Women*, or all *Women*) did resort; or how else could they keep silence in the Churches? 1 Cor. 14. 34. yet you hold not that two or three Churches in the New Testament must consist of no more then may meet in one place.

4. *The visible Church in the New Testament is not Nationall, as the Jewish was; hence we read of the Churches of Galatia, Macedonia, Judea, not Church of Galatia*, 1 Cor. 16. 1. &c. 2 Cor. 8. 1. &c.

We say not that the Christian Church is Nationall, as was the Jewish Church, *viz.* that it hath a Nationall Tabernacle, Temple or House of God, and solemn Worship peculiar to it, to which all the Members, or all the Males must sometimes resort, towards which the absent are to pray, and in which the Priests in their courses do minister unto God: nor say we that the Scriptures do mention a Nationall Church; for the Supreme Magistrate was an enemy to Christian Religion, & *Regis ad exemplum*, &c. (i) many of the people were of the same minde, as it is this day in *France* and *Spain*, and was in *England* in *Queen Maries* days: Believers (it is like) were not so many as to bear the name of a Land or Nation, nor could they have liberty safely and freely to meet in such great Assemblies as Nationall Synods. Shew me a Nation of Magistrates and people converted, and I will shew you a Nationall Church; but if there could not then be a Nationall Church, as in *Queen Maries* times our Church was not Nationall, it is no wonder if there were none, (*Ultra posse, non est esse*) whether Nationall Churches be lawfull or unlawfull.

(i) *M-to H.* teacheth us thus to answer.

Arguments taken from the naked appellation of the word Church or Churches, are very unsatisfactory, because of the various acceptations of the words *Kahal*, *Gnedah*, *Ecclesia*, *Synagoga*, which we sometimes translate Church, but should al-

ways translate, Convocation or Congregation, a company called out, or gathered together.

The English word, *Church*; Saxon, *Cyric*, and Scots, *Kirk*; are derived from *Κυριακή*, as *Cambd. Rem.* or *Κυριακον*, as *Sir Hen. Spelm.* which (as *Βασίλειον*) signifies the place of meeting. Hence we read of *Robbers of Churches or Temples*, *Acts 19:37*. *Kahal* (whence our English word *call*) is sometimes Metonymically understood of the place. *The Heathen enter into the Sanctuary, which God had forbidden to enter into the Church*, *Lam. 1:10. cum Deut. 23:3. Nehem. 13:1.* To come together *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, is (if it be rightly translated) to come together in one place, and so *Ecclesia* is opposed to the buildings or houses in which they did eat and drink, *1 Cor 11:19, 20, 21, 22, ult.* *Synagoga* is evidently taken for the place of meeting, *Luke 7:5. Acts 18:7.* Nevertheless the words *Kahal* and *Gnedah*, do sometimes signifie a dispersed multitude or company (that (possibly) never did or could meet together) hence we read of a *church of Nations*, *Gen. 35:11. church of evil-doers*, *Psal. 26:5. church of the dead*, *Prov. 21:16. church of the Righteous*, *Psal. 1:5.* And the people of *Israel*, though divided into severall domestick Assemblies to keep the Paschever, are called one Church, *Exod. 12:46. 47.* But usually an Assembly or *Concio*, is all one with *Kahal* or *Ecclesia*, whether that Assembly was orderly or disorderly, good or bad, lesse or greater, *Jer. 50:9. a church of the Nations*, *Ezek. 32:22. Asshur and his church*, *Acts 19:39, 40. lawfull church dismissed the church.* When all the Israelitish men, women and children were together, they were but one congregation, which, in the Dialect of the Translatours of the New Testament, is all one with one church, *Acts 7:38.* When all the Israelites did not meet (for all the members of the Jewish Church did never meet after their settling in the Land of *Canaan*, nor all the males, save thrice every yeer) they that met, though scarce the half or third part of them that were of the Jewish Faith and Communion, were notwithstanding called *all the church*, *the whole church*, *Josh. 9:18, 19. & 22:12. Ezra 2:64.* And when there was a great Assembly, then the Scripture tells us, *There was a great church. I see a great church, a very great church,* *Nehem.*

Nehem. 5. 7. & Chron. 7. 8. & 30. 13. Ezra 10. 1. accounting no more persons of the Church, but those that were then assembled, yea *Simeon* and *Levies* assembly is called a Church unto which *Jacobs* honour should not be united, *Gen. 49. 6.* and those many that were gathered together, praying in the house of *Mary*, are called the Church (though *James* and his Brethren were not there, nor (it may be) the tenth part of those, which (in our sense) were of the Jewish Church.) *Acts 12. 12. cum 5;* Yea 4 or 5. in a family, joyning in the worship of God, are called a Church, *Rom. 16. 5. 1 Cor. 16. 19. Philem. v. 2.* In this sense there were many Churches among the Jews. The Scripture calls them Church, or congregation often, and sometimes in respect of their severall Synagogues, Tribes, and Families, Congregations, *Psal. 74. 4. 8.* The phrase, Churches of *Judea* which were in Christ, seems to imply that some Churches in *Judæa* were not in Christ, *1 Thess. 2. 14. Gal. 1. 22.* No wonder therefore if that Christians of one Country meeting in severall Synagogues, *1 Jam. 2. 2. Heb. 10. 25. Acts 19. 8, 9. & 22. 19. Acts 13. 15, 16, 43. and Houses, Acts 12. 12. Rom. 16. 5.* do receive the denomination of Churches which in Scripture phrase is all one with assemblies, many whereof we confesse were in *Galatia, Macedonia, &c.*

See Answ. to 2.

But more particularly, you say there were Churches in *Galatia*, Ergo, they were Congregationall.

Ans^r. *Galatia* was a large Country, as is intimated *Acts 18. 23.* The *Galatians* in Saint *Pauls* time, held all *Paphlagonia*, a part of *Phrygia*, *Cappadocia*, and of all the neighbouring Countries round about, which after their names were called *Gallogrætia*, or *Gallatia*, containing in them the Cities and Churches of *Antioch* and *Laodicea*, (as *Macedonia* also did include *Philippi, Thessalonica, Berhæa* &c.) In *England* (a far lesse Country then either of them) in former times have been severall Churches at once, and yet those Churches not meerly Congregationall, but Nationall rather.

The Churches of *Galatia* might (for ought you alleadge to the contrary) be combined one to another, as the Churches of *England, Scotland, Holland, France*, are respectively combined :

(k) *Catt. keyer*
v. 8. 9. doth so
take them.

bined : For the Apostle speaks of them *as one lump*, 1 Cor. 5. 6. cum Gal. 3. 9. and wisheth th: anathematizing or excommunicating of him that troubleth them, Gal. 1. 8, 9. & 5. 10. 12. and the restoring with the spirit of meeknesse (both which I take to be Acts of Discipline) (k) of a fallen brother, Gal. 6. 1. And the Churches of Macedonia were not so severall, but they joyined in one to choose a brother (which I conceive was an Authoritive act) to go with Paul for the managing of the Churches contributions, 2 Cor. 8. 18, 19. and the Churches of Judea, consisting of Myriads of people, did come together, Acts 21. 20, 21, 22. to be satisfied of Paul concerning an accusation they had received against him; and are called a Church, Gal. 1. 13. Acts 12. 1. and an house, Heb. 3. 4. which title you say is not given to loose stones and timber, but imports knitting and joyning one to another.

This is not
unlike the
Answ. to 32.

Q. p. 89.
Answ.

5. When a Visible Church is to be erected the matter of it should be visible Saints and beleevers, 1 Cor. 1. 2.

True, so it should; when an Army is to be raised, a city begun, a family set up, much more when a Church is to be erected or continued, the matter of them should be visible, yea real Saints, Beloved of God, elect, blessed, &c. Deut. 83. 14. Isa. 1. 21. 26. Acts 16. 34. Rom. 1. 7. Eph. 1. 1, 2, 3, 4. and we heartily wish thy were all such, yet we dare not use unscripturall wayes, and meanes for the procuring or preserving of Church-members sanctity: To be wise or holy above the rule, is to be foolish, prophane, presumptuous, superstitious; could you shew us out of Scripture that the Church should examine persons that come to be admitted, whether the work of Grace be wrought in their hearts or no; and that they must make any other Declaration (then profession of faith and repentance) and that the congregation ought to reject such of whose sincerity and sanctity they are not satisfied, and that the want of this care in the first constitution of a Church, doth nullifie it, or make it unlawfull for men to joyne to it, or continue in it, and that it is necessary to know that a Church was constituted of visible Saints (which none but

but they that were present can know) before he can in faith joyn to it, or continue in it, we should not differ about the sanctity of the Members. If the Gospell and Christian Religion was brought into *England* in the Apostles times, then it was like it was constituted of Saints, as well as the Church of *Corinth*. If we look upon the latter constitution in *Queen Elizabeths* time, many congregations of *London* and *M:* for example) had visible, yea doubtlesse reall Saints, which were sufferers all *Queen Marias* time, to be the foundationalls thereof.

Church cov.
p. 37.

The Text in the *1 Cor. 1.* shews rather what the members of the Church of *Corinth* were, at the time of *Pauls* writing to them, then that they were or ought to have been visible Saints, at the first erection of that Church; yet it shews not that all the Church-members he writes to, were visible Saints; for many known evill livers, as the *Incestuous person, Drunken communicants, Hereticks, Schismatickes, Fornicators*, were known members; but the denomination of Saints, is a *parte meliore*, as we call a wheat-field a corn-field, though we see weeds and tares in it: much lesse doth it prove, that all they to whom he writes, and the others also, were visible Saints at the first constitution of that Church, and that it was necessary they should be such: He writes to the Church called to be Saints, or called Saints, (not to the Saints called to be a Church, or to the Church constituted of Saints) which expression rather of the two, proves there was a Church before they were Saints, (See *v. 1.* *Paul* called to be an *Apostle*) then that they were Saints before they were a Church, though I maintain not the validity of either inference. But how appeares it that all the Honourable titles and Epithets given by *Paul*, are given with relation to Church membership? The *Corinthians* were enriched by God in all utterance and all knowledge, and did come behind in no gift, will you thence conclude that all Church-members are or ought to be enriched by God, &c? So when he called others Saints, beloved of God, elect, blessed, &c. or saith, their life is hid with Christ in God; if these things be spoken of them as Church-members, then they are true of all Church-members, which you know they are not.

See for this
the Answer to
32. Q. p. 9 &
Church Cove-
nant, p. 5. 6. 7.

6. *The forme of a Church is the gathering together of these visible Saints, and combining and uniting them into one body by the forme of an holy Covenant, Deut. 29. 1, 10, 11, 12. By which is plainly shewed that a company of people, become Gods people, that is, a Church, by entring into Covenant with God. If it be said they were a Church before; yet that was when the Church of the Jews was constituted in Abrahams family by Covenant.*

Answer.

(5) *TH. to W.*
R. p. 24. so in-
terprets you.
A Church Co-
venant is of
such duties as
the Gospell
requires of e-
very Church,
and the mem-
bers thereof:
Apol. for
Church cov.
p. 3. & p. 25.
The substance
of this is a-
greed to by
Answer to 32.
Q. p. 15.

You intend not that *this Covenant doth make a true Church*, but a *pure congregational Church*, as it is refined according to the platform of the Gospell. (b) A Church Covenant is especially in relation to Church estate, and Church duties; (as a marriage Covenant is with relation to the married state and marriage duties.) But the Covenant here mentioned was not entred into in reference to Church estate and Church duties, rather than to other duties of the morall law; and may be taken by two or three, though they be too few to make a Church, or by persons of severall Churches, in a Ship or a Journey, and yet let leave them in the same Church-state they were before, and not make them members of a distinct Church. A Covenant in Generall doth not make a Church (nor a marriage, a Covenant between this man and that woman makes it) but a Covenant with appropriation and application to this or that Pastor or people.

But the Scripture Covenants are not with appropriation and application to this Pastor or people, (*viz.*) that they would serve God with this people or Pastor rather than with that; therefore they are not Church Covenants.

To be Gods people, and Gods Church, is not all one in your sence. To be the Kings Subjects, and to be of a Corporation, is not all one; 40 Beleevers of no Church, or if 40. severall Churches are the Lords people, but they are not an instituted Church: no Covenant in Scripture was at the founding of the Jewish Church, nor of the Christian Churches, though many be mentioned in the New Testament, to be founded, nor at the adding of any members to them, neither did they make a Church, more truly a Church,

Church, or politicke society, or more truly members, but did make them or shew them to be more pure and holy servants of God, even as when single persons or families do Covenant with God.

The Covenant in *Gen. 17.* is taken onely for Gods part of the Covenant, or his promise to *Abraham*, *Gen. 3. 16. 17.* not for mans part to God, whereof we now speak: Gods Covenanting with *Abraham* did not impose nor suppose an expresse vocall Covenant on *Abrahams* part (although when God appeared visibly and spake vocally, there was more colour for an expresse Covenant, then now he doth not) nor alwayes an implicite Covenant, *Gen. 9. 9, 10.* The Birds, the Beasts, the children not then born, could not give so much as an implicite assent.

Indeed receiving of circumcision doth import a Covenant on *Abrahams* part, or consent to the Covenant, as Baptisme also doth; but it is held they were in Church-state before they had right to circumcision; therefore you should shew they made a Covenant before circumcision, but how prove you that *Abraham* was not in Church-state before? *Gen. 17.* That *Melchizedeck* a Priest, and *Lot*, which were not of his seed nor of his family? were out of Church-state, That a Believer is not a son of *Abraham*, nor an heir of the promise and covenant made to *Abraham*, if he be not in Church-state by Covenant? All which you seem to imply, when you say that Jewish Church was constituted in *Abrahams* family by Church-covenant. The family of *Sem* was the Church of God long before this, *Gen. 9. 25, 26, 27.*

7. Every member at his admission doth promise to give himselfe as to the Lord, to be guided by him, so to the Church to be guided by them, which is no more then the members of the Church of Macedonia did in a Paralell case, 2 Cor. 8. 5.

See the like Allegation in Answer to 9. p. 73.

The givers are not the members of the Church of Macedonia, (as you for your advantage phrase it) but the Churches of Macedonia, (a) and therefore if this do prove Union or Covenant, it is of the members of severall Churches, and not of

Answer.

(a) Apol. for Ch. Covenant, v. 12.

An Examination of sundry Scriptures

one onely: It is not said that they gave themselves to the Church or Churches, but to us, viz. to Paul and Timothy, (which were not so much as set members of any particular Church) 2 Cor. 1. 1, 19. which as they joyned in the Epistles extant to the Macedonian Churches, Phil. 1. 1. 1 Thess. 1. 1. 2 Thess. 1. 1. so they commend those Churches for being guided by them, Phil. 2. 12, 19. & 4. 9, 15. 1 Thess. 1. 5, 6, 7. & 3. 6. But how the case of the Churches of Macedonia is parallell with your Church-covenant, to abide in that particular congregation you shew not.

8. *This particular congregation is a Church before it have Officers, Acts 2. 47.*

Answer.

In a generall sence a few private men without Officers, yea a few women without men, yea 20. members of severall Churches, may be called a Church; but a governing Church they are not. The Church hath not received an Office of rule without her Officers. (b)

(b) Cotton Keyes
p. 16.

The Church in Acts 2. had Officers, and better Officers than any Church now hath, even the Apostles (if the Commission of the 70. was expired) which were the Elders of all Churches. (d) 1 Pet. 5. 1. 2 Cor. 11. 28. and particularly of the Church of Jerusalem, and did act therein as Elders; It is not all one to want Elders now they are instituted as before, ordinary Elders were not appointed at that time.

(d) The Apostles were as the Elders and Rulers of all Churches, Cotton Keyes p. 48.

9. *She hath also full and free power to choose her own Officers, without the help of Synod, Classis, or Presbytery, Acts 1. 15. Acts 6. 3. Acts 14. 23.*

This (though not so fully) is asserted by R. M. and W. T. to C. H.

In Church affaires of weighty and difficult common concernment, as Election and Ordination of Elders, excommunication of an Elder, it is safe and wholsome, and an holy Ordinance to proceed with consultation and consent of the Churches, Prov. 11. 14. (p) You will not take upon you hastily to censure the many notable Precedents of ancient and later Synods, who have put forth Acts of power in Ordination and Excommu-

(p) Cottons
Keyes, p. 55.

munica-

munication. (9) We hold it a priviledge of the people, (especially if they proceede wisely and piously) to Elect their Officers; and an injury to obtrude any on them, without their consent; but let us view your Scripture, The assembly, *Acts 1.* it is likely was not a body politick, but occasionall onely, no part of Church Government being as yet set on foot; here were not all but some of the soulder Members of the Jewish Church, and they had no Commission to sepearate from the Jews before *Acts 2. 44.* The company was not without Elders, the Apostles if not the 70.) were present; all the Churches and Elders that were at that time in the world, were present, in respect whereof it may be called an *Æconienicall* counsell, (the Apostles being Elders of all Churches) rather then a particular Congregation.

(9) *Cor. Kees*
p. 18.

If there had been any more Elders and Churches, they must have convened upon that occasion to choose an Apostle who is a Pastor of all Churches. The choise was limited by the Apostle *Peter*: First, to the persons present; secondly, to those that had accompanied the Apostles, all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out amongst them, and by God the director of the lot (to whom properly the Election of an Apostle doth belong) to *Matthias*; As for the Deacons and Over-seers for the poor (though people may better discern of mens fitnesse and ability for that Office, then for the Ministry; and their liberty of choosing was a good meanes at that time, to abate their discontentments because of former neglect; yet at their Election, there were all the Churches and Elders in the world, and more there could not have been in any case; such necessity hath no Law. Your selves acknowledge Synods an Ordinance of Christ, usefull in sundry cases, (as in case a Church being leavened with Popery, Arminianisme, Antinomianisme, Libertinisme, Anabaptisme, &c. should choose a Minister like themselves: If such a case had happened, they could have had no more of a Synod at that time then they had; the company did nominate two, but they that prayed (which is likely was the Apostles) did appoint them, *ver. 23, 24.* The people chose seven, such as they were directed to choole, set them before the Apostles, which did

An Examination of sundry Scriptures

appoint them over the businesse, prayed and imposed hands: In Acts 14. 23. Paul and Barnabas ordained Elders by Suffrages given by lifting up or stretching out of hands, (for so the Greek Word usually signifies, though not alwayes, Acts 10. 41. but that the people did ordain Elders by Election, without the Apostles, it saith not, but rather the contrary (*viz.*) that they stayed from Election and Ordination of Elders, till the Apostles came to advise and assist them therein. The word χειροτονω signifieth rather to give, then to gather suffrages: As [χειροτονήσας ὑπο τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν] doth imply the election of more Churches then one, and yet it imports the election of no more Churches then those there spoken of: so the phrase, [Paul and Barnabas χειροτονήσατε δι' αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἐκκλησίαν] doth not imply that any Church, or other person besides Paul and Barnabas did elect those Presbyters.

Churches do
joyn in χειροτονία.

This Scripture
is alleadged by
R.M. and W.T.
to C. H. and
Answ. to 32. q.
p. 69.

Answer.

R.M. and W.T.
to C.H. p. 52.
45.

10. The particular Congregation, though it want Church-Officers, hath power and authority to ordain Officers, as the children of Israel did put their hands upon the Levites, Numb. 8. 9, 10.

That Congregation had Officers, Aaron the high-Priest, and many other Priests, Numb. 3. 4. But you hold not that people may ordain in the presence and plenty of Officers. All the children of Israel, being about 600000, and many women and children, did not (probably) lay hands on the Levites, but some, instead of the rest, which were more likely to be the Elders then any other. (All the congregation, and, All the Elders of the congregation, are all one, Exod. 12. 3. cum 21) The Levites were separated to their work, and taken from amongst the children of Israel, cleansed and offered before the Lord by Moses and Aaron respectively, according to Gods expresse appointment, v. 6 7, 8, 11, 13, 14 therefore this laying on of hands was either onely obedienciall for approbation of Gods election, or for oblation of the Levites to God, instead of their first-born, v. 16 17, 18. as they laid hands on sacrifices, v. 12. which was a speciall reason, and peculiar to those times. If the people did ordain the Levites, I am sure they did

did not choose them : If this be a binding pattern, you will lose Election, while you contend for popular Ordination.

You tell us, that it is a main pillar of Popery, to proportion the Church now, to the outward policie in *Israel* ; and that Christs faithfulnessse above *Moses*, consists in as full determination of Gods Worship in the New Testament, as in the Old ; and that we are as strictly tied to the Gospel-pattern, as the Jews were to the Old Testament : Why then should we in Ordination of Officers be guided by the Old Testament, and not by the New ? And why should we follow the Ordination of Levites, rather then of Priests, for a pattern for the Ordination of Elders, except to gratifie you ?

11. *When the Apostles were sent out by Christ, there was no mention of Ordination in the Commission of theirs, but onely of teaching and baptizing, Mar. 16. 15, 16. and 28. 19, 20. If Ordination of Ministers had been such a speciall Work, there would (belike) have been some mention of it in their Commission.*
- The words of the Answer to 32. q. p. 71.

Neither is there mention of celebration of the Eucharist. • *Answer.*
 Preaching and Baptizing were first to be done to the Nations, therefore they are there mentioned. We finde the Apostles did practise Ordination, and yet we suppose not that they went beyond their Commission, *Acts 6. & c. 13. & 14.* And a Commission to Elders we read, *1 Tim. 5.* as well as practice, *2 Tim. 4.* You intimate, that speciall works, which the people might not do, are mentioned in that Commission ; which if you stand to, you must deny the people power either to Baptize or to Preach. If these words be not a Commission to the Apostles and Elders to ordain, I am sure they are no Commission to psonified-men either to Preach or to Ordain.

12. *The Church hath power to censure her Officers, if she see just occasion, Col. 4. 17.*

The Church of *Colosse* had other Elders besides *Archippus*, which might joyn with the people in the Admonition. *Paul* bids *Timothy* fulfill his Ministry, *2 Tim. 4. 5.* This doth not

If that need so require, she may admonish her Officers, and excommunicate, &c. T. W. to W. R. p. 39. *Answer.*
 sup.

(r) *Cot. Keyes*,
p. 19.

suppose *Timothy* to be faulty, or to be under censure: and it may be *Archippus*, *Pauls* fellow-labourer, *Philem. v. 2.* was not faulty, and then this Admonition was no censure; and therefore it is alleadged to no purpose. Neither doth admonition alway suppose Authority; for this may be an act of charity, as well as of authority. *Paul* might admonish *Peter*; and one Brother another of the same Church, though *Paul* had no authoritie over *Peter*, nor fellow-members one over another, *Gal. 2. 11. Matth. 18. 15, 16.* (r) Private members cannot censure judicially, or unchurch the Congregation, though they be bidden, *Plead with their mother, plead, Hof. 2. 2.*

The *Colossians* were as well to cause that Epistle to be read in the Church of *Laodicea*, as to say to *Archippus*, &c. yea, the word *cause*, seems more authoritative then *saye*: yet our Brethren hold not, that one Church hath power to cause any thing to be done in another Church. If it had been said, Cause *Archippus*, &c. and, Say to *Laodicea*, you could have made notable use of it. Finally, the Church cannot excommunicate their whole Presbyterie, no more then the Presbyterie excommunicate the whole Church; onely she may withdraw from them (f): the Church hath not received from Christ an Office of rule without her Officers (r).

(f) *Cot. Keyes*,
p. 16.

(r) *Ibid.*

This Text is much insisted on, and weekly contributions for the Minister grounded on it.

Answer.

13. *These Officers are to be maintained by contribution every Lords-day, 1 Cor. 16. 1.*

You do not maintain all your Officers, not your Ruling-Elders, though the Text. *1 Tim. 5. 17.* doth as cleerly hold out the maintenance as the lawfulness of Ruling-Elders. The Apostles Rule was not generall, but onely (for ought there appears) in the Churches of *Galatia* and *Achaia*, *v. 1.* nor perpetuall; for those Gatherings were to cease when *Paul* came, *v. 2.* (though Ministers maintenance did not cease when *Paul* came) not for any Officers, at least not *quâ* Officers, but for the poor, not of their own Church neither, but of the Church of *Jerusalem*, many miles distant; which was a singular and extraordinary case. You might much better alleadge, *Matth.*

23. 23. *These you ought to have done, &c. yea, Acts 2. 45. & 4. 34.* (as the Anabaptists) for the manner of maintaining the Ministry, and relief of the poor, then to say, that the temporary way of the Churches extraordinary charity to the poor of another Church, is a perpetuall binding Rule to direct how Church-Officers should constantly be maintained.

14. *The great mountain burning with fire cast into the Sea upon the sounding of the second Trumpet, Revel. 8. 8. 9. is applied by some good Writers to those times in which Constantine brought settled endowments into the Church.* See more of this in Answ. to 32^d q. p. 77.

If it be so applied by some good Writers who possibly had in their eyes the Lordly and almost Regall riches and pomp of Prelates, it is by as many and as good Writers applied otherwise. For my part, as I finde that *Constantines* Donation, the foundation of this Exposition is but a Fiction, accounted by *Gratian* himself to be but *Palae*, (and what is the chaff to the wheat?) so I finde in the Prophecies, that Kings and States are called *mountains*, *Zech. 4. 7.* casting of mountains into the Sea implieth great commotions and troubles, *Psal. 46. 2.* their burning with fire, signifieth their opposition and fiercenesse, whereby they become destroying mountains: or, as the *Septuagint* (whom the Penmen of the New Testament much follow) *ἐκ πυρὸς ὀρεῖαν* — a mountain on fire, *Jer. 51. 25.* but I finde not that settled and stinted maintenance is in any Prophecie understood by a mountain burning with fire cast into the Sea, nor that it is unlawfull either from yeer to yeer, as in *New-England* (u) or for certain yeers, or for term of life; much lesse do I finde that it is unlawfull for one yeer, and not for a yeer and a quarter, or two, three, or four yeers.

Answer.

15. *There must be in the Church Teachers distinct from Pastors, as Apostles are distinct from Evangelists, Eph. 4. 11.* This (for substance) is alleadged by

That Text proves not the same distinction between them; for he saith, *Some Apostles, and some Prophets, &c.* but not *some Pastours, and some Teachers*; but, *but some Pastours and Teachers*; Answer. to 32^d q. p. 75. and many others.

Teachers; or rather, These Apostles, these Prophets, these Evangelists, these Shepherds and Teachers; which words seem but to explicate one another, as Shepherd and Bishop do, 1 Pet. 2. 25.

This Text is frequently alleged, in
Answ. to 32 q.
and others.

Ans^r.

(x) The new
Jerusalem, Rev.
21. is many
particular
Churches
combined, Col.
Krys, p. 56.
Answ. to 32 q.
p. 38.

Ans^r.

Answ. to 32 q.
p. 11.

16. *This particular Congregation is Sion which God loveth, and here he hath promised to be present, Matth. 18. 20.*

No Sir, it is not *Sion*, but one of the Assemblies of *Sion*, Isa. 45. The Hebrews, which were divided into many Congregations, are not said to be come into many Mount *Sions*, but to Mount *Sion*, Heb. 12. The Scripture warrants not the expression of an hundred or a thousand *Sions*. Have not you found God present in our Assemblies? have not you by faith closed with the promises in the use of Ordinances; amongst us? Speak out, I know you dare not belye your selves, us, and God himself. Christ, in *Matth. 18.* promiseth his presence to those that are not a Church, for two or three will not make a Church: they (v. 17.) were to give the second Admonition, the Church the third. If any faithfull people, though women, or not in Church-fellowship, or members of severall Churches, meet together, you dare not exclude them out of his promise, though they do not make a congregational Church. Christs presence is promised to the Apostles and their Successors, the Elders, *Matth. 18. 20.* and to the Assemblies of *Sion*, or Churches joyntly, as well as severally, *Isai. 4. 5. Rev. 2. 1. & 21. 22, 23. & 22. 3, 4, 5.* (x)

17. *So long as a Believer doth not joyn himself to some particular Congregation, he is without, in the Apostles sense, 1 Cor. 5. 12.*

Those *without*, of whom the Apostle speaketh, were unbelievers, Pagans and Heathen, *without Christ*, as well as *without the visible Church*.

The Apostle opposeth Fornicators of the world, to Fornicators that are Brethren.

Without are dogs, Sorcerers, *Rev. 12. 15.* such as Paul had not

to do with, *what have I to do &c.* v. 12. (and yet he had to do with all Christians, by his illimited Apostolike power, (7) whether they belong to that or any other Congregation or no) such as God judgeth, or are left to the immediate judgement of God: But this is not the case of Believers not joyned (especially in your sense of joyning) to a particular Congregation; nor do you (I hope) judge it to be the case of Believers in the Churches of England and Scotland.

(7) Answ. to 9 Pos. p. 64.

18. *The Elders are not Lords over Gods Heritage*, 1 Pet. 5. 3. nor do exercise authority, as the Kings and Princes of the earth do, remembering our Saviours lesson, Matth. 20. 25, 26. Luke 22. 25, 26. *They are not so many Bishops* (2) striving for preeminence, as Diotrophes did, 3 Joh. v. 9, 10 (a)

(2) A Clasticall Presbytery sets up many Bishops for one M.D.

(a) These Scriptures are alleged, Answer to 32 q. p. 59. & 76. though not with such tartness against Presbyteriall Government.

Answer.

To say nothing that the title *Kyriē*, *Dominus*, sometimes translated Sir, and sometimes Lord, *Joh.* 12. 21. 1 Pet. 3. 6. is given to Christ, to Elders, and meaner persons, 3 *Joh.* v. 4. 40. & 5. 7. & 12. 21. *Kev.* 7. 14. Though Elders be not Lords over Gods heritage, yet they are Leaders and Guides, yea Shepherds, Rulers, Overseers, Bishops and Governours, and not onely Presidents of the Congregation, Moderatours of her actions, or as the fore-men of the Jury. The other Text forbids Kingly or Lordly power in the Ministers of the Gospel; for the two Apostles still dreaming of a Temporall kingdom, and being kinsmen to Christ, did expect some Temporall honour and advancement. Christ saith not, there was inequality amongst the Priests of the Jews, or amongst the Priests of the Gentiles, or between the Priests and People, but it shall not be so among you; but, very aptly and pertinently to their Petition, answereth, *The Princes of the Gentiles*, &c. propounding himself, v. 28. whose Kingdom is not of this world, for an example to them; yet he had no intent to equall them to himself in Church-power, or other Ministers to the Apostles, or the People to the Presbyters. We make not all Church-Ministers Bishops, but the Elders onely, as we are warranted by *Afts* 20. 17, 28. *Tit.* 1. 5, 7.

Diotrophes, being but one, was liker to a Prelate, then to a

Presbytery : yet Saint *John* doth not blame him simply for accepting or having pre eminence, or for taking upon him to answer in behalf of the Church to which *S. John* writ, or for taking to him the power of commanding, forbidding, excommunicating ; but for loving pre eminence, (as *Mat. 23. 6, 7.*) for not receiving the *Apostles* and *Brethren*, and prohibiting what he should have required and encouraged, and excommunicating such as were the best members of the Church. I will not tell you who said, *All the Church is holy* ; ye take too much upon you, &c.

19. *The power of Government is expressly given to the Church, when we are bidden hear the Church, which is a particular congregation, Mat. 18.*

Answer.

The Church, in the first and primary intent of these words, was a Church then in being, which did abominate the Gentiles (for Heathens and Gentiles are all one) viz. the Jewish Church, which was not a particular congregation, but a Nationall Church, having graduall judicatories and appeals, of which the *Apostles* were at that time, and *Christ* lived & dyed an actuall member, (b) They who presume that *Christ* did no more respect the Jewish Church, then they do the Church of *England*, do over-skip it, and understand this onely of the Christian Church, and bring *Christ* in, speaking on this manner; *Peter*, if thy Brother offend thee to day or to morrow, and will not be gained, keep it in thy mind two or three yeares, and thou shalt have a Church to which thou mayst complain; tell the Church when there is one. This Gospell was writ principally to and for the Jews (some say in Hebrew) in it the Spirit of God useth much the language and dialect of the old Testament, in which *Kahal* (and *Ecclesia* with the 70.) do sometimes signifie the company of Elders, as well as the body of the people ; and a Nationall Church with graduall Judicatories and appeals, as well as a particular assembly. Now there is not a Word in the Text to shew either that Church is not here taken for the Presbitary, but for the people (seeing when *Christ* saith, *Whosoever ye shall bind, &c.* he

(b) *Ans. to*
32. *Q. P. 14.*

(c) A subordination of the Jewish Synagogues and courts is acknowledged by *Cor. Keyes*, p. 24.

he speaks to the Disciples, v. 1. or Apostles, which are elsewhere said to have the power of binding and loosing, *Mat.* 16. 19. *Jo.* 20. 23. and were not ordinary beleevers but Elders, *1 Pet.* 5. 1) or that it is meant onely of a parutillar congregation without graduall Judicatories or appeals, (a Notion not agreeable to the Jewish Church here in the first place spoken of. I read that the promise of binding and loosing is not given to a particular congregation, when it is leavened with error and variance, *Ecclesia litigans non ligat, clavis errans non ligat*, but then a Synod of Churches or of their messengers may Judicially convince and condemn error, search out truth, determine, declare, and impose the way of truth and peace upon the Church. (d)

(d) *Col. Keyes*
P. 47.

20. *Mat.* 16. 19. *Christ directeth his speech not to Peter alone, but to all the Disciples also: for to them all was the Question propounded by Christ, v. 15. Nor to them as General Officers of all-Churches, for that commission was not yet given them, but as Disciples and Beleevers.*

This seemes to be taken out of the Answ. to 32. Q. p. 44.

Peter was an Apostle in Office and Commission, though not yet sent out into all the world, and an Elder, Mat. 10. 1, 2, &c. and doubtlesse the key of Authority and Rule, when it was promised to *Peter*, and given to him with the rest of the Apostles, *John* 20. 23. is the same authority which is given to their successors the Elders, whereby they are called to feed and rule the Church of God, as the Apostles had done before, *Acts* 20. 28. If the Keyes were not given to *Peter* as an Elder or Apostle, but as a Believer, then it will follow; First, that the Keyes are not given to a congregationall Church, or any visible Church, or the Members, thereof against whom the Gates of hell may prevail; but to true beleevers or members of the Catholick Invisible Church, which onely are built on the rock, and the gates of Hell, &c. So that Hypocrites (as *Judas*) have not to do with them: Secondly, that they are given to all beleevers, making *Peters* confession, whether in Church-covenant or no, whether Church-members or no, whether males or females, for a quatenus ad omne valet consequentia:

Answ.

See *Col. Keyes*
p. 41 & p. 10.

quentia: Thirdly, that Peter as an Apostle, and Pastors as Pastors, have no more power of the Keyes, given to them hereby, then other ordinary Believers; a groundlesse and senselesse tenent, which makes Church-government meerly Democraticall and popular.

21. 1 Cor. 5. *Paul himself, though an extraordinary Officer, yet would not take upon him to excommunicate the Incestuous person without the Church, but sends to them, exhorting them to do it, (a) and reproves the brethren of the Church of Corinth, as well as the Elders, that they did no sooner put him away. (b)*

(a) See also
Answ. to 32.
Q. p. 49.

(b) Cot. Keyes
P. 13.
Answer.

(b) Cot. Keyes
P. 30.

He blames them all, women as well as men, that notwithstanding the notorious fornication which was amongst them, were puffed up and gloried, and did not rather mourn, that he might be put away, ver. 1. 2. 6. Paul himself did excommunicate Alexander and Hymeneus, 1 Tim. 1. 20. and it is not mentioned that he took the consent of any Church or Presbytery in it. (b). The Apostle saith, *κέλευσας ὡς παρὸν παρὰ δέου.* I have judged or decreed already, as if I were present to deliver him to Sathan, then that he exhorted them to do it: indeed he commands them to put him away, as he writes to them to restore him again, to see whether they would be obedient in all things, 2 Cor. 2. 9. and he would have it done when they were gathered together, that the people might behold, approve, and execute what was decreed. Paul bids the Colossians to cause an Epistle to be read id Laodicea, they (it is like) did it in obedience to Apostolique Authority; yet it will not hence follow, that a Church hath ordinarily the same power over another Church: he bids them purge out the leaven, and put away from them that wicked person, &c. which must not be understood as if Elders and people were equally authorized thereunto, but *Quilibet in suo gradu*, every man in his place, So Num. 5. 2. The children of Israel are commanded to put out of the camp every Leper; yet the Elders did judicially make clean or unclean, Levit. 13. 3. Dent. 17. 13. yea

yea sometime they alone did put the Leper (as *Uzziah* 2 *Chro.* 26. 20.) from amongst them : The allusion to the Leaven is not to be too far strained: for every woman or childe in their private house, without the consent of the Church might cast out Leaven, but yet they cannot excommunicate. The Apostle, 1 *Cor.* 14 31. bids them all prophesie one by one, yet our Brethren do not hold that all sanctified persons which in any place call upon the Name of the Lord Jesus, 1 *Cor.* 1. 1, 2. were by this Precept bound to prophesie. Also, in 1 *Thess.* 5. 12. he beseecheth the *Thessalonians* to know them that are over them, &c. which he speaketh to the Believers, and not to the Elders. So when he speaks of acts of governing power, it is to be understood of Elders, and not of Believers.

22. The Lord Jesus, reproving the Angel of Pergamus for suffering Balaamites, sends his Epistle not onely to the Angel, but to the Church. The Spirit saith not onely to the Angels, but to the Churches, Revel. 2. 11. And the Church-members are seen by John in a Vision, sitting on Thrones, clothed with white raiment, having on their heads crowns of gold, Revel. 4. 14. Now thrones and crowns are ensignes of Authority and governing power.

This is alleged by Answ. to 32. Q. 45. & 49.

The Lord Jesus, reproving the Angel of Pergamus, sends his Epistle (say you) not to the Angel, but to the Church: I adde, Not to the Church, but to Churches. As you gather, that the suffering of corrupt persons and practice was the sin of the Church, and not of the Angel onely: so I may gather, that it was the sin not of one Church onely, but the neighboring Churches also: But this you deny. I read in Revel. 4. that four and twenty Elders (distinguished from Believers, c. 7. 8. 11. 13. 14.) not four and twenty Saints or Members) were so clothed and crowned, by which I understand the Officers of the Church, alluding to the four and twenty Orders of the Priests, and the four Beasts represent the Christian Churches thorow the four quarters of the world, alluding to the four Camps of Israel, bearing in their Standards the same Beasts. By your Exposition, the Elders, which (you say) are signified

Answer.

(b) Col. Keyes P. 16.

by

An Examination of sundry Scriptures

by the four Beasts, are excluded from governing power ; for they sit not on Thrones, nor have Crowns on their heads. Their Crowns and Thrones are no more Ensignes of Power and Authoritie, then their white Raiments of Priesthood :

(b) *Con. Keys*,
p. 16.

(b) But they are not Priests by Office, they cannot do Pastorall acts, as Baptize, &c. neither have they authority to govern. Every Christian man or woman, Church-members or other, hath a Crown, and sitteth on a Throne, viz. is Spiritually a King and Priest to God, *Revel. 5. 10.* Finally, governing power, properly so called, you (i) acknowledge none, but in the Elders alone, *1 Cor. 12. 28. Rom. 12. 8. Heb. 13. 17.* The peoples power is more fitly called Liberty and Priviledge, too mean a thing to be represented by Crowns and Thrones.

(i) *M. & T.*
to *C. H. Col.*
Keys, and *G.*
and *N. Epi-*
Ale.

23. *The particular Congregation takes Christ for her onely Spirituall Prophet, Priest and King, Deut. 18. 15. Acts 7. 37. Psal. 110. 4. Heb. 5. 4. Isai. 9. 6, 7. Revel. 15. 3.*

Answer.

Seven or eight (you say) are the fewest that will make a Church ; but five or six, yea any one particular Saint, though out of Church-fellowship by Excommunication, &c. may take Christ to be his onely Spirituall Priest, Prophet and King ; yea a Presbyteriall, Classicall, Nationall Church may do it ; the Jewish Church did it, the Hebrews did it, *Heb. 5. 4.* and *4. 15.* yea, the Churches of the Gentiles, which at that time were not meerly Congregationall, did acknowledge Christ their King, *Revel. 15. 3.* What Scripture witnesseeth that a Congregationall Church, rather then a Presbyteriall Church, doth acknowledge Christ to be the onely absolute King, Priest and Prophet ? Do your selves believe what you would have us believe, that Christ doth exercise his Kingly, Priestly, Prophetical Office onely in Churches meerly Congregationall ? did Christ offer up himself a Sacrifice for all the Members of a Congregationall Church, and onely for such ? If you believe it not, why do you so clearly hint it ?

24. *Christ hath left but one Way of Discipline for all Churches, which, in the essentials of it, is unchangeable, and to be kept till the appearing of the Lord Christ, 1 Tim. 6. 13, 14.* This is found in Answ. to 32 q. p. 82, 83. and the like in R.M. and W.T. to C.H. p. 8.

It seems by the words, *Thou, O man of God, I give thee charge that thou keep this Commandment, (viz. which immediately precedes) concerning faith and holiness, in the ministry of the Word, to be directed to Timothy himself: or if to his successors, then it must be to the ordinary Elders (for evangelists which succeeded him we know none) not to the Churches; for example, not to the Church of Ephesus, to whom Paul writes nothing of Government, though in his Epistles to Timothy he writes almost of nothing else, and chargeth the Elders to take heed to the Flock, and look to the Wolves, Act. 20. 28. But if you will needs have the words, this commandment, extended to this whole Epistle, yea to every Precept and Example of Discipline in Gods Book, you had need of good warrant for this exposition. That the essentials of Discipline set down in Scripture are unchangeable, I grant: but whether any essentials be in controversy, or how many, and which they are, you tell us not: I am sure those things that some (possibly) do make essentiall, are not such; as, holy kisse, anointing with Oil, washing of feet, &c. The differences between the Apostolike Churches and ours are observable, because they justly occasion some alteration, at least in externals, of Discipline or Worship.*

As first, the Jewish ceremonies were then scarce dead, at least, not buried: hence we are not bound to use unleavened bread at the Sacrament, to abstain from things strangled and from blood, to circumcise, to purifie our selves, and to shave our heads, &c. *Mark. 16. Acts 15. 28. & 16. 3. & 21. 21, 22, 23, 26. & 23. 2, 5.*

Secondly, the civill customes of these countreys differ much from ours: Hence we are not bound to lie or lean on a bed at the Sacrament, *Joh. 13. 23, 25. & 21. 20.* to wash one anothers feet, *Joh. 13. 5, 14, 15. Luke 7. 38. 1 Tim. 5. 10.* to kisse one another, *Acts 20. 37. Mark 14. 45. Rom. 16. 6. 1 Cor. 16.*

An Examination of sundry Scriptures

20. 1 *Thess.* 5. 26. or to make covering of the mans head a token of dishonour, 1 *Cor.* 11. 11. 45. 7. 10.

Thirdly, the Churches were then but in gathering from amongst Heathens and Jews : Hence we want examples (to convince refractory Anabaptists or Socinians) of the Baptizing of Christian Infants, or of any other, though of riper years, that was born of Christian parents, and educated in a Christian way, and was not in person a Jew or an Heathen.

Fourthly, the Church was then under Heathenish persecuting Magistrates : Hence they had no houses built for, or appropriated to holy Worship, they met in the night to pray, preach, and celebrate the Supper ; Ministers had no settled maintenance ; no Laws did compell mento keep the Sabbaths, to frequent the Assemblies, to submit to the Churches Discipline ; Christians bare no civill Offices ; the Magistrate did not meddle with, nor protect, but persecute the Church.

Fifthly, there was then an extraordinary effusion of the holy Ghost upon the Apostles, Evangelists, and sundry of the Elders and people : Hence there was no need of Universities nor Schools to teach Tongues and Arts, *Acts* 2. nor of studying for Sermons, nor using set Prayers or Psalms ; for by the Spirit they then composed both, 1 *Cor.* 14. no looking on Bibles (Printing being not then in use) when the Pastour read or preached ; no writing Sermons, &c.

Sixthly, The Apostles had the care of all the Churches, and without difference taught and baptized, and ordered matters in all Churches where they came, 1 *Cor.* 11. 28. & 4. 17. & 16. 1. & 7. 11. (to say nothing of the Evangelists and Prophets) Now we may not, without presumptuous tempting of God, expect such Officers, but must be contented with ordinary Elders, amongst whom so much of their power as God intended to be perpetuall, is divided.

Sevently, there were then some extraordinary occasionall Precepts and Practices, which binde not in ordinary ; as, selling all to give to the poor, *Matth.* 19. 21. having all things common, *Acts* 2. 44. 45. & 4. 32, 34, 35. anointing the sick with Oil, *James* 5. 14. which are Apostolically imitated by the Pastors, if not by others.

Finally,

Finally, do but publish a full Narrative of your Church-courses and practices, and especially of all which you count Essentials, and prove them by Scripture; and I shall freely, by the grace of God, either consent with you, or shew reason of dissenting.

25. *The Church, or the Ministers thereof, must not be wored*
ἐκκλησία, 1 Pet. 4. and therefore the Minister must not per-
form a Ministeriall act to another Congregation, Acts 10.28.
1 Pet. 5.1, 2.

The like words are found, Answ. to 32 q. p. 11, 14. Answ to 9 Pof. p. 76, 77, 78.

Answ.

The Text in *Peter* speaketh not of the Church, or of Elders, more then any other man; nor of meddling with the affairs of other Churches, but, *With other mens matters*, or rather (as the word implieth) other mens riches or possessions, whether Christians or Heathens, Church-members or no: and not every meddling with them, but such a meddling as for which they suffered from the Heathens in those days; *Let no man suffer as a busse-bodie in other mens matters*: and therefore it is of no more strength against the power of a Presbytery over particular Congregations, then against the power of Parliament over other Courts of Judicature. The Inference supposeth, that the Flocks mentioned in those two Texts were two particular Congregations, which is impossible to be proved. *Peter* bids the Elders of *Pontus, Galatia, &c.* to feed the flock of God that is amongst them: therefore, say you, the Elders of one Church of *Galatia*, must not feed the people of another Church of *Galatia*. A communicant must examine himself; Will you thence infer that none else must examine him? The *Thessalonians* were to know them that were over them, and laboured amongst them, and esteem them very highly, in love, for their works sake; therefore they must not hear, or at least not esteem highly for their works sake, the Pastours of other Congregations, 1 *Thess.* 5. 12, 13. Taking heed to the Flock and feeding it, doth include Administration of the Word, and prayer, as well as of Sacraments; yet you hold he may, notwithstanding this Text, preach and pray in another Congregation. The relation of Ministers and people is

An Examination of sundry Scriptures

mutuall: If the people may receive the Sacrament from one that is not their Minister, then the Minister may administer it to them that are not of his Flock. By vertue of Communion of Churches, you may (you say) and you do receive known approved recommended members of another Church, to the holy Communion. If you may receive one, why not two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, which, it may be, are the whole Congregation? Where doth the Scripture allow the one, and not the other? You grant, that *Elders have a calling to ordain Elders in other Churches*, whereof themselves are neither Elders nor members, by request of that Church where the Elders are to be ordained (k).

(k) R. M. and
W. T. to C. H.
p 48.

This is but a
little altered
from Answ. to
32 q. p. 80. &
73. and T. W.
to W. R. p 44.
& 56.

26. *Gifted men not called unto the Ministry, nor intended for it, may preach. They that were scattered abroad upon the persecution which arose about Steven, were not Church-Officers, at least not all of them, yet these men did preach the Word; — and Philip, which was but a Deacon, preached, without the calling or privity of the Apostles, Acts 11. 19. & 8. 14.*

Answer.

This Text cannot be understood generally of all that were scattered: your selves explain it of men, not of women, 1 Cor. 14. of gifted men, and called to that work by the Church, and not of ungifted and uncalled men: yet the words, in their indefinite latitude, will prove as well the preaching of ungifted and uncalled men, as others. Questionlesse there were Elders amongst them; it may be the seventy Disciples were not quite out of Commission: certainly Philip was amongst them, who was an Evangelist (which Office began upon that dispersion) as well as a Deacon, Acts 21. 8. and did baptize (which your selves confesse unofficed men cannot do) as well as preach. They were all filled with the holy Ghost, Acts 2. 4, 10. & 4. 31. (l) which made them Doctours the first day, and gave them both ability and a call to speak the Word (which the Apostles counted their principall work, and after it, Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, 1 Cor. 1. 17. Acts 6. 4, (m) this therefore was an extraordinary Case: Yet that these did preach ordinarily and usually

And the hand
of the Lord
was with them,
Acts 11. 21.
Ezek. 3. 14.
(n) Answ. to
32 q. p. 71.

usually to the Churches, like to Pastours, and received maintenance for the same, as some do in London and elsewhere, is impossible to be proved.

27. Jehoshaphat sent Princes, who were neither Ministers, nor intended so to be, to teach with the Priests and Levites; to wit, at least to encourage the people to hearken to the Priests and Levites, 2 Chron. 17. 7. 8. 9. as Jehoshaphat did, 2 Chron. 20. 20. yea, and was their mouth to God in Prayer, verse 25. to 13. As we conceive something in that Prophecy, 1 Cor. 14. to be extraordinary: so we conceive it to be Ordinary, that some private men, grown Christians of able gifts, who may have received a gift of Prophecy, need no more extraordinary Calling for them to prophesy in the Churches, then for Jehoshaphat and his Princes to prophesy in the Church of Israel.

Answer.

In the Church of Israel, none besides the Priests and Levites did ordinarily prophesy, either in the Temple, or in the Synagogues, unless they were either furnished with extraordinary gifts of Prophecy, as the Prophets of Israel; or were set apart and trained up to prepare for such a Calling, as the sons of the Prophets: (n) but Jehoshaphat and his Princes (n) Cor. Key, were neither Prophets, nor sons of the Prophets. There is a vast difference between prophesying, and encouraging the people to hear the Priests and Levites. Had Jehoshaphat a Warrant for what he did, or no? if he had, was it ordinary, or extraordinary? If either he had no Warrant, or an extraordinary one, he is not to be imitated: if an ordinary Warrant, you may produce it; for all the Books of Scripture that were writ in his time, are extant, and many more. Jehoshaphat knew well the difference between matters of God, and the Kings matters, 2 Chron. 19. 11. matters concerning the King and Common-wealth: The Princes might (as Judges, Justices, &c. now do) teach in the Cities. Do you indeed hold, that the King may not onely preach himself, but also appoint others to preach and teach, though the Church do not call them? If so, tell us (I pray you) whether

(o) Two
Brethren to
A.S. p. 54.

See Col. Keyes,
p. 20. and M.
Goodwin and
M. Nyes Epi-
stle.

he may preach in the whole Nation, or onely in one particular Congregation. You tell us that the Kings of *Judah* (being Types of Christ; and not onely their people, but their very Land being typicall, &c.) might be invested by God with a larger power in matters of Religion, then Kings and Magistrates under the Gospel, [may not I adde, or Subjects?] have any ground or warrant to claim from (o). Those in 1 Cor. 14. had not an ordinary, but an extraordinary gift of Prophecie, and the gift of Tongues also; yea, they composed Songs and Psalms as the Spirit did thereunto move, enable and authorize them; yet you hold not that a man, having attained variety of Tongues, or a Poeticall vein, might then, or now may in Churches exercise the gift of Tongues, and sing self-composed Songs or Psalms; nor can you from hence shew, that it is lawfull for unofficed men to preach in an ordinary course, and to receive maintenance for the same.

Reader, other Witneses are come in, and more may come in: while thou art reading these, I shall hear them. Their testimonies (as Scouts shall bring tidings) shall be concealed or published.



FINIS.

The Weekly Account.

Published
January. 8.
1645.

Containing,
Certain Special and Remarkable PASSAGES from
both Houses of PARLIAMENT; And Collections of
severall Advertisements; From, —

{ Sir William Brereton.
Collonel Ludlowe.
Major Okey.

{ Sir John Meldrum.
Sir Tho. Middleton.
Collonel Maffey.

{ The Kings forces.
Newark forces.
The Scots forces.

The Kings Pardon for the Archbishop of Canterbury, sent to the House. His Letter to the Speaker, and Petition for three Popish Priests to visite him, and attend him at his death, if his Pardon be not allowed of. The severall Reasons presented to the Commons by the Lords, against the passing of the Ordinance, upon the great Vote to disable all Members of Parliament to bear any Office. 40. Horse taken by the Garrison of Alisbury. A brave descent given to the Winchester Forces by Collonel Morley. Muscan Bridge taken by our forces, within a mile of Newark, and the raising of a Fort against the Town. 60. Head of Battle taken by Sir William Brereton, and his going into Lancashire, Collonel Fielding and Major Keniston taken prisoners.

From Wednesday the First of January, to Wednesday the 8th. of the same.

WEDNESDAY, January the first.



Quarters, as in keeping Provision from coming that way into the Town; the

ving now raised a Fort there, which commands even to the very Towne it selfe.

This day Major *Okey* which commanded Sir *Arthur Haslerigs* Regiment of Horse, that went with Colonel *Holborn* for the relief of Taunton Castle, came to London. Thar Regiment, and the Kentish Regiment are both returned, and are quartered at Petersfield, Medhurst, Petworth, Tangmar (near Chichester) and other places thereabouts; but their head Quarter is at Petersfield, which is not farre from Winchester.

Some have reported, that these forces are sending back again into the West, which is very improbable, for that their horses have had a large and hard march, and others may well be spared.

This day Captain *Horham* was beheaded on the Scaffold on Tower Hill, at which time and place were a multitude of Spectators, which received much satisfaction in seeing justice executed: But the party dying, did not demonstrate to the people those fruits of Piety and Wisedome, as was expected from one that had such Intellectuals as was thought to be in him.

The main businesse this day in the House, was in debating on the last part of the Directory for the Church, which was this day brought into the House by the Assembly. with an Appendix for publike worship, and the taking away of certain dayes commonly called Holy Dayes, and prophanely abused heretofore, either by Idolatrous Superstition and Will-worship, or Heathenish sports and Pastimes; yet it is thought fit and convenient, that some dayes Quarterly shall be kept, as dayes of Rest and Recreation for servants, and labouring men.

THURSDAY. January the 2d.

THe last Week, I acquainted you in what manner Sir *John Horham* was reprieved; And this day, according to the Order of the House, he was brought to the place of Execution on Tower Hill, of whose Confession so much hath been said already, that I shall not reiterate: Yet are some things observable, which having passed other pens, I shall briefly recite. viz,

That at his first coming out of the Tower, he seemed very much daunted, and his spirits somewhat faint, and as he went along towards the Scaffold, he went striking his hand on his heart; yet when he came up on the same, he saluted divers persons that he knew, saying: *That now he was very cheerefull, and he thanked God for good company all the morning: For Master Peters and some other Divines which came thither with him, had been visiting*

THE FIRST WEEK, 1645.

ting of him. His Confession was so satisfactory, that he acknowledged he had wronged the Parliament and his Country, but confessed not that he absolutely intended to surrender the town of Hull. When he gave himselfe to the block, he said to the Executioner, *When I give you a signe by holding forth my hand, do your Office.* After which lying somewhat long, the Executioners eye was off when he gave the first signe. Whereupon looking up again, he he spoke these words. *Forasmuch, as I have given you one signe, and you have not strook the stroke, I pray forbear till I give it you again,* And soone after, when he lifted up his hand, his head went clean off at one chop.

Both his sonne and himselfe were buried in *Alhallowes Barking Church*, and according to their desires, were put into their Coffins in their clothes.

The Committee of Lawyers, which were to draw up Reasons to satisfy the Lords in point of treason, in the case of the Bishop of Canterbury, made report thereof to the House, after which a Conference was desired with the Lords, and the reasons to satisfy their Lordships were then rendred, and presented by the House of Peeres, who promised speedily to expedite that business.

FRIDAY, January the 3.

AT a Conncell of Warre this day holden at Essex House, a Captain of a Troop of Horse was sentenced to be shot to death, for killing of a man.

From Alisbury in the County of Buckingham they write, that the Kings forces have made a great havock in the lower parts of that County, and have placed some new Garisons there, whereby they enlarge their Quarters about Brill and Bisseter, and that a partie of the Enemy came lately within two miles of Dynron, where they drove away some of the Castell of the Country, but notice being given thereof to our Garison at Etherop, (the late Earl of Caernarvons House) they went forth with a partie of Horse and Dragoons, and forced the Enemy to flye, and leave the Caurell behinde them. This Garison is within two Miles of Alisbury amongst the Pastures, in the fat of that fertile Country, which though heretofore hath been esteemed the Garden of England, is now much wasted, by being burthened with finding provision for two Armies, for the Kings Quarters are at

Buckingham.
Sommerton.
Winflow.

Straten Audley.
Brackley.
Brill.

Bisseter.

THE FIRST WEEK 1645.

Biffeter.

Hadenham.

Thame.

And some other Villages
in and adjacent to this
County.

Islip.

Chippingnorton.

The Parliaments Forces are also Quartered at

Alisbury.

Stoke.

Hartwell.

Wendover.

Etherop.

Elsborough.

Newport.

Missenden.

Winge.

Amersham.

Bierton.

Chesham.

Waddesden.

Lee.

(lages.)

Layton.

St. Leonards, and other Vil-

These Forces are thus Quartered, to prevent the Enemy from spoyling the hither part of that County, and making any inroad into the County of Hartford, or getting any nearer the City of London.

Matter la Strange, which I told you the last Week was condemned by the Councell of Warre, should this day have been executed, but a Petition was presented to the House of Peeres on his behalfe, upon which (with the consent of the House of Commons) his execution was respited, and the heads of the proceedings against him are to be revised by a Committee. It seems he was a discontented Gentleman, who thorough rashnesse plunged himself into a condition that merits condigne punishment. Yet may there be a difference betwixt him that never took any Office of trust for the Parliament, nor ever really acted against them, and those which are highly guilty of both.

There was some debate in the House of Commons, touching the place and number of persons, that shall treat with Commissioners from the King touching an Accommodation of Accord, who are to receive instructions from the House, and the results of each Proposition to be returned to the Parliament. And for the place, Vxbridge was thought most convenient, and the number of persons on our side were agreed upon, to be four Lords, eight Commons, and four of the Scots Commissioners; unto which the Lords did also condescend.

SATUR-

THE FIRST WEEK, 1645.

SATURDAY. January 4.

BY Letters out of Hampshire it was certified, that Colonell *Morley* with a gallant Regiment of horse, is quartered neere unto Winchester, his head quarter being not above halfe a mile from the Citie, by which meanes he kept the Enemy in the towne in such awe, that they scarce adventured to peep: out of the gates, for if they did, Colonell *Morleyes* men having very good horses, did presently snap some of them, by which meanes provision was growne scarce (for the Country were not permitted to bring them any) hereupon the Malevolents in the towne were willing to try their fortunes with the Garrison souldiers, and by marching forth together, they thought to plunder all that side of the country, and fill their empty streets with cattell and other provisions as they could get, which designe was prosecuted on Sunday night (for thats the day they plot most mischief) about one hundred and fitty of the Garrison souldiers and many of the Citizens joyntly sallied forth, and for the time shewed themselves such arch stealers, and bone drivers, that for three or foure miles compasse they left not a beefe behinde. But before they could get them into the Citie, a partee of Colonell *Morleyes* men fell uppon them, rescued all the cattell out of their hands, tooke fiftene or sixtee prisoners, and pursued the rest to the Citie taking up, ever now and then two or three faint-hearted fraglers, and many of them being over hasty to recover the bridge, tumbled into the water, and were drowned.

The directory for the Church, was this day fully agreed upon by the Lords and Commons, and ordered to be printed, and dispersed into all the Churches of England and Dominion of Wales.

This day the Lords declared to the Commons, that they were fully satisfied touching the Archbishop of Canterbury, and did concurre with them, in the Ordinance upon the attainder, by which he is to be hanged drawn and quartered.

The Letters from the Queen of Sweden, have been opened and read, in which she declares a great affection to the Parliament, and their proceedings, and desiring a more firme League, and union, with this Kingdom.

It was this day reported from good hands, that the Garrison souldiers of Alisbury, hearing that a partee of the Kings forces were plundering not many miles from the Town, issued forth and took about 40. of them prisoners, which they brought safe to Alisbury, without the losse of one man of our side.

MONDAY.

THE FIRST WEEK 1645.

Biffeter.

Thame.

Islip.

Chippingnorton.

Hadenham.

And some other Villages
in and adjacent to this
County.

The Parliaments Forces are also Quartered at

Alisbury.

Hartwell.

Etherop.

Newport.

Winge.

Bierton.

Wadliden.

Layton.

Stoke.

Wendover.

Elsborough.

Missenden.

Amerham.

Chesham.

Lee.

St. Leonards, and other Vil-

(larger)

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MONDAY.

MUNDAY. January 7.

THis day it was advertized that a strong partee of the Kings horse were advanced from about Oxford, to a place called Christ-Church in Hampshire, not farre from Southampton, and were fortifying there, some thinke their intention is to invade the County of Suffex, which is very unlikely, for if they advance that way the forces which I have already advertized you to be quartered neere Winchester, and on the edge of Suffex. will bee ready to encounter with them.

We have taken about 80. of the Kings forces at Ilminster which doth countervaille our losse at Salisbury, of which I shall give you an account before I conclude this dayes passages.

The time for the treaty was this day agreed for twenty dayes, and the generall matters, first to be insisted on is Religion, the settling of the Militia, and concerning the liberty of the Subject.

By Letters out of Staffordshire it was this day certified, that the Governour of Russell Hall, hath taken 19. prisoners, which were going as a convoy to a Popish Knight towards Oxford.

Letters out of the North certifie, that our forces have gotten the possession of the towne of Carlisle, but the Castle still holds out, but are on termes of Treary, Sandall Castle is much streightned, they further write that Sir John Meldrum came to Yorke not long since, where he made but little stay, returning back into Lancashire, six of the Aldermen of Yorke are bringing up to London, viz.

Sir Roger Inghes.
Sir Edward Cooper.
Sir Robert Belt.

Alderman Hemsworth.
Alderman Scot.
Alderman Myres.

We are also certified out of Gloucestershire, that Captain Gainsford having the Command of a Garrison in the edge of the Forrest of Deane, met with a partee of Sir John Winters plundering forces, killed divers of them, and tooke fourteen prisoners.

This day intelligence was brought, that Colonell Holbourn being at Salisbury, and his men (having been so successfull in the reliefe of Taunton) thinking themselves too secure, about 150. of them were surprized by the Enemy, and the rest of his men are retreated to Southampton, but they took Colonell Feilding (which was once Governour of Reading) and some others prisoners.

TUESDAY.

TUESDAY, January the 7.

THe Lords sent a Message to the Commons, desiring a Conference, at which they declared their Reasons for which they could not passe the Ordinance upon the great Vote, for taking away all Offices from Members of either House, as it was presented unto them, without provisos or exceptions.

The substance of one reason was; First, *Because no particular Exception is given against any man, and they conceived that some particular Commanders might be spared from their constant attendance in the House for the publique Service.*

2. *That the Peeres had taken the Protestation with the House, and were willing to hazard their lives, and spend their dearest blood in this cause.*

3. *That the taking off the Commands in chief, would cause some distraction in the Armies, if things were not speedily settled.*

The Bishop of Canterbury sent a Letter to the Lord Grey, Speaker of the House of Peeres *pro tempore*, and with it a Petition to the Lords, and a Pardon from the King for his life.

The Pardon appeared to be of an ancient date (about two yeares since) which it seems this little Grace thought of the like efficacie as the Popes Dispensation, and therefore got a pardon before hand, to subvert the Lawes and introduce Poperie, which (though his *Ultimum refugium*) is like to do him little good; For its against Law and Reason, to have a pardon before conviction: And therefore the Lords cast it by, and moved the Commons that he might be beheaded, which being debated in their House, they adhered to their former vote, that he should be hanged, &c.

The substance of his Petition was this:

That if there were no way to escape, but that he must suffer with his gray haire, he humbly desired, that Doctor Stern, Doctor Heywood, and Doctor Martin, (three Popish y affected Priests) might have liberty to visite him both before and at His death. (Which are all three in custody, and are the most notorious Delinquents of their rank and Coat.)

The contents of a Letter from a Commander in Cheshire, are these.

Beecham Castle is still close besieged, our Major was at Farnes with a considerable strength, and keeps that passage, Captain Sadler lyes at Lee-Hall, two miles from Chester, and some of our Forces at Halton Hall under Halton Castle, and at Burton and Ainsford. By which meanes, with the helpe of

Worrall

THE FIRST WEEK. 1645. T

Worrall Garison, and Stafford Bridge, you may see Chester is quite blockt up on Cheshire side, and if there were any considerable strength on the Welsh side, there were great hopes of gaining the Town in a short time. Lieutenant Collonel *Coste* approves himself a gallant souldier, and doth good service in Worrall. The last Week the Enemy coming out of Chester towards Staney, where we had a garrison, he sent 400 horse and foot in the mean while into Wales, who fetcht away 80 head of Cattle, and severall prisoners, without the losse of one man, Sir *Thomas Middleton* advanced as farre as Cherke, to have come nearer to us, but the Enemy fell on his Quartets, took Major *Kemison*, and about 30. of his men prisoners; so Sir *Thomas* retreated back again.

Upon debate of the Archbishops request in his Petition, concerning Doctor *Stern*, Dr. *Martyn*, and Dr. *Heywood* to vitre him, &c. It was ordered that Doctor *Stern* and Dr. *Martyn* should have liberty to come to him according to his desire (to whom it is more then probable, he intends to make Auricular Confession) and in lieu of Dr. *Heywood*, Mr. *Palmer* an Orthodox Divine, is designed to be present.

Upon report of some of the Kings forces bending towards Suffex, divers Officers that were in Town belonging to the Garison in Farnham, went out of Town, and repaired to their Commands.

We thought to have given you some further intelligence of the affaires in the North, but by reason of the Weather, the Poste is not yet come to London.

Valiant Sir *William Brereton* hath lately been ill, but is now recovered to his former health, which he was no sooner restored to, but he repaired towards Lancashire, to procure a supply of forces for gaining of Chester, his own forces continuing the blocking up of that Town (as aforesaid) and Beccleson Castle, in the mean time.



Printed according to Order.

London, Printed by BERNARD ALSOP.

Innocency and Truth⁸

Triumphing together ;

OR,

The latter part of an ANSWER to the
back-part of a DISCOURSE, lately published

By William Prynn Esquire,

called, *A FULL REPLY*, &c.

Beginning at the foot of p. 17. of the said *Discourse*, with
this title or superscription, *Certain brief Animadversions*
on Mr. JOHN GOODWINS *Theomachia*.

Wherein the Argumentative part of the said
Animadversions is examined ;

Together with some few *Animadversions* upon some former
Passages in the said *REPLY*.

Qui innocentie debitum servat, penitentia non solvit usuram, Chrysost.

Nolo mihi imperet ille vel ille, qui me opprimere potest, docere non potest, Hieronymus.

*Non est delicata in Deum, & secunda confessio : qui in me credit, debes sanguinem suum
fundere ibidem.*

*Ignosci potuit simpliciter errantibus : post inspirationem verò & revelationem factam,
sine ignorantia venia peccatur, Cypr. Ep.*

*Pios hoc nomen & titulum in mundo oportet gerere, quod seditiosi ac schismatici, ac
infinitorum malorum auctores sunt, Luthetus Gal. c. 5.*

Not that wee have dominion over your faith : but are helpers of your joy, 2 Cor. 1. 24.
Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded: and if any of yce be otherwise
minded, God shall reveale even the same unto you, Phil. 3. 15.

by John Licensed and Printed according to Order. Goodwin

8th January LONDON;

Printed by Matthew Simmons, for Henry Overton,
at his Shop in Popes-head-Alley, 1648. 1644



To the unpartiall and unprejudic'd
R E A D E R.



A M I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth ^(a), (saith the first-born ^(b)), and yet the last born also ^(c), of the Apostles to his Galathians;) The interrogation is a constructive assertion of two things. First, that to speak the truth in some cases, is very opportune to sinister interpretation, and apt to represent the speaker as a man of no benevolence or friendly comportance with those, to whom he so speaketh. The reason whereof seems to be this: Errors and misprisions are many times very indulgent and bountifull to the flesh; and he that incounters men under such enjoyments, with the truth, seems to them rather to strike at these enjoyments, then at the error or opinion, by whose consent they have first taken, and still keep possession of them. Themselves esteeming the opinion of small value (as well it deserves) save onely in reference to those carnall gratifications; are very apt to conceive that neither doe others so much minde that, or take offence at that, as at those priviledges or accommodations which they enjoy by it: and this they judge to be a straine of an hostile inclination.

Secondly, The prementioned Interrogation supposeth, that no manifestation or speaking of what truth soever unto men, simply as such, is any argument at all of want of affection, and that in the highest, unto them. The reason is, because

(a) 1 Cor. 15. 10

(b) 1 Cor. 15. 8

(c) Gal. 14. 16.

To the Christian Reader.

there is no Truth, which being imbraced, and honoured with sutable practise, but will give farre better wages and consideration to her servants in due time, then any error whatsoever. Yea, the truth is, that the greater breach, or spoyle, a Truth makes in any mans worldly possessions or enjoyments, it is of so much the richer and the more advantageous concernment unto him, and will honour him the more abundantly. It is the manner and guise of divine truth, to pull downe houses built with firres and brick, and to build them up againe, with cedars and hewne stones.

He that deals much either in the discoverie, (or recovery rather) or inforcement of such truths, which are opposed in the world, not onely by errors and contrary misprisions, but by secular accommodations also, as of honour, power, riches, pleasures, or the like, takes a very direct course to make himself conformable to the image of his Saviour, who being so great a Benefactor to the world, was yet numbred amongst Transgressors. To attempt the casting downe of such imaginations, which do not onely exalt themselves in the minds of men, but contribute also to the exaltation of men themselves in the world, be they never so extravagant or eccentricall to the truth, is an undertaking of almost as doubtfull a presage, as they that speak Proverbs are wont to represent by the taking a Lion by the beard, or an Elephant by the tooth. And did not the God of Truth umpire (and that with an high hand) amongst the thoughts and counsells of the sons of men, and put many a by-ingredient into his providence of soveraign reliefe to those, whose hearts are set, and hands lift up to magnifie such Truths, which being advanced are like to doe justice in the world, and to reduce all usurpations and unrighteous detainments amongst men, the Earth would not be able to beare the words of such men; and the world soone become too hot a climate for Truths of such a complexion.

To the Christian Reader.

It is a matter of somewhat a sad contemplation, (and yet in part, delightfull also, viz. as those Oracles of Heaven, the Scriptures, are mightily asserted and vindicated like themselves thereby) to see, what commotions, tumults, and combustions are presently raised in the minds and spirits of men upon the birth (or resurrection rather) of any Truth into the world, concerning which there is the least jealousie, that in case it should reigne, it would rack them from off the lees of their old customes, or compell them to a restitution of what they have unjustly taken, and peaceably enjoyed for a long time, or any wayes expose them to any outward sufferings, or disaccommodations in the world; to see, what hurrying up and downe, what engaging of parties, what inquiring after parts and abilities, what rembling over Authors old and new, what incensing of Authoritie, what streynings of wits and consciences, what slighting of solid arguments, what evading substantiall and cleare interpretations of Scripture, what magnifying of those that are streined and farre fetch'd in their stead, what casting abroad of calumnies and reproaches, what incrustations, and misrepresentations of opinions, sayings, practise, actions, what shifting, what blendings, what colourings, what pretendings, what disgracings, yea, what conventings, what persecutions, what evill intreatings of men, what appealing to fire, sword, prisons, banishment, confiscations, and all to turn a beam of light and glorie, into darknes & shame, to keep a new-born Truth from ruling over them. As soone as Herod the King heard that Christ was borne, and that wise men were come from the East to worship him, inquiring after him, as a King; the Text saith, that he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him: and how unnaturall and bloody a design was there presently put in execution, to prevent the reigning of him that was but now borne into the world? That one, who yet
was

Mat. 2. 1, 2, 3.

To the Christian Reader.

was their lawfull King, might not reigne over them, many poore infants (innocents altogether in this) were not suffered to live amongst them. This Scene also was acted in Germany, when God first made Luther as life from the dead^a unto the Doctrine of free justification and remission of sins; a Doctrine not so much opposed by the Popish Tenet concerning the vertue and validitie of Papall Indulgences, as by the^b sacred thirst of that gold and silver which the trade of such merchandize formerly driven by the Grand Seignior of Rome and his Factors throughout the Christian world, brought into their coffers in that bewitching and transporting abundance.

a Rom. 11. 25.

*b Auri sacra
fames.*

2 Cor. 12. 5.

1 Cor. 3. 15.

Reader, of any wrong done to my self, I will not complaine: but I know a man, who hath been forsaken of his friends, found those of his own house to be his enemies, who hath been reviled, traduced, reproached, way-laid, by tongues, by pens, by practises, reported to have lost his wits, abilities, parts, suffered losse of his due and necessary subsistence, wrongfully deteined from him, and for which he hath laboured faithfully, brought before Rulers and Magistrates, represented to Sovereigne Authoritie, as a wilfull and presumptuous underminer of their undoubted priviledges, and that diametrally contrary to his Vow and Covenant; besides twenty more hard sayings and practises of men against him; and all this for noother cause, upon none other ground or exception, but onely because he holds forth such a Truth (as in all his heart and all his soule he is verily perswaded) which, if entertained, is like to blesse the world, though it be as by fire, I meane by casting downe the present thoughts, and crossing the present desires and designs of many in it: Of the injuries & indignities offered to such a man, I have cause (with many others) to complaine; but for any sufferings or evill intreaties of mine own from men, I count it beneath

To the Christian Reader.

neath my engagements to him, who strengtheneth me to doe
and to suffer all things ^(*), to sleepe to take up any lamentati-
on or complaint.

(*) Παῖδά τὸν
ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ
ναυαγοῦντι μὲν
χρῆσθαι.
Phil. 4. 13.

In these leaves following, I make payment of a debt unto
thee, contracted by a promise and engagement made in my
late brieife defence, which I styled, Innocencies Triumph;
with some small additionall consideration, for thy present
forbearance. For in the former sections till about pag. 54.
I animadvert upon some select passages in the former part
and body of that piece, in whose tayle lies the sting of my ac-
cusation; the pulling out whereof, is my taske from the third
section unto the end. In the carriage of the discourse, I pro-
jected these foure; Brevitie, perspicuitie, moderation, satis-
faction. How I have performed or prospered in my designe,
is a case now presented unto the Great Judicatorie of the
world to judge and determine. I shall not court thy favour
or approbation: if thou wilt deale hardly either with the
Trath or her Friends, at thine own perill be it: Injure what
thou canst, we shall be repaired; yea, and have all our for-
bearance and delay, in full consideration and recompence.
Yet a very little while, and he that doth come, will
come, and will not tarry ^(*): and behold, his reward is
with him ^(b). In the day of whose coming, however thou
shalt deale with me in the interim, I cordially wish thee
peace, and that lifting up of the head, after which it shall
never hang downe more.

(a) Heb. 10. 37
(b) Rev. 22. 12

From my Study in Coleman-
street, Jan. 8. 1644.

Thine, all that thy soule desi-
reth, in the love of the truth,

J. G.

Errata.

- Pag. 3. line 36. *dele*, only, and close the parenthesis at the word,
government.
P. 8. l. 26. *dele*,).
P. 17. l. 5. for *vere*, r. *verò*.
P. 13. l. 7. for *apparent*, r. *apparan*.
P. 39. l. 3. for *distances*, r. *disturbances*; *ibid*. l. 36. for *disturban-*
ces, r. *disturbance*.
P. 47. l. 33. for, *ingagements*, r. *inducements*.
P. 49. l. 14. for, *leave*, r. *give*.
P. 51. l. 31. for, *in ordinary*, r. *in an ordinary*.
P. 53. l. 1. for, *faith*, r. *truth*.
P. 56. l. 34. for, *praise*, r. *honour*.
P. 59. l. 11. for, *still*, r. *till*.
P. 61. l. 35. for, *is more*, r. *is of more*.
P. 62. l. 15. *In the margent*, for *ipsa*, r. *ipsam*.
P. 65. l. 4. for, *precedent*, r. *president*. *ibid*. l. 12. for *guiltie*, r. *guilt*.
P. 68. l. 9. *thole words*, and lastly, to be closed in a parenthesis.
P. 70. l. 18. for, *together by*, r. *together for by*.
P. 80. l. 10. for, *the*, r. *that*.
P. 87. l. 25. for, *exemptively*, r. *executively*.

Some other lesser mistakes, as in points, parentheses, or the like,
the Reader is desired to pardon, and amend.



Innocency and Truth

Triumphing together :

O R,

The latter Part of an ANSWER to
the back-part of a *Discourse*, lately published
by WILLIAM PRYNNE Esquire, called,

A FULL REPLY, &c.



He Gentleman who hath vouchsafed me the honour of so noble an Antagonist, as himself, p. 8. of his *Full Reply*, hath this ingenuous saying : *I presume my friends are so ingenuous, as not to be offended with mee for reproving only their errors with ingenuous freedom, in which I manifest my self their greatest friend, because I neither spare nor flatter them in their mistakes.* I cannot doubt, but that hee will put the same interpretation upon the *ingenuous freedom* of his friend in the same kind, which hee presumes his friends will put upon his ; and will make no other construction of my *not-sparing* or *flattering* him in his mistakes, then as a manifestation of my self to be his greatest friend. The truth is, that if he shall put any other construction upon them, but this, it is a signe that he understands not the dialect or language of mine intentions.

Señ. 1.

B

Upon

Scēt. 2.

Upon the stock of so faire and rich an encouragement, as this, I conceive it very proper for mee to graffe (at least) the presentation of some errors and mistakes (more then so called) to Master Prymms view, which himself had first scatteringly, presented to the view of the world, in his late piece, called, *A full Reply, &c.* and will (I trust) assist my Pen with his in the censure and condemnation of them; I make no question, but that he will acknowledge it an *error and mistake* in any man, to *confute concealed errors and mistakes* with those that are open and professed. Hee makes a sad complaint (in the very beginning of his work) that his condition still hath been to have his *best actions and publique services* (he means performed by his Pen) *misconstrued and traduced*; and yet a few lines after, hee affirms that his *twelve Questions touching Church-Government*, gave ample satisfaction to many truly Religious, of all ranks and qualities, who returned him speciall thanks. He that can give men, yea, the best of men, men truly Religious, yea, not a few of these men neither, but many, and that of all ranks and qualities satisfaction, yea, ample satisfaction (and receive thanks accordingly) only by asking Questions, seems to write with Fortunatus his Pen; and may well beare the burthen of much misprision from other men, out of the strength of the joy of this rare successe. Ordinarily, men of greatest worth and learning, have much ado to give satisfaction, by the most elaborate and exact resolutions; which is another manner of service to the world, then asking Questions is: A weak man may ask more Questions in an houre, then seven wise men can answer in seven yeeres. And when hee saith, that our Saviour both instructed and refused his opposites and auditors, by demanding Questions only, I conceive it is a mistake: As for those Scriptures which hee cites to prove this, some of them being more then half Chapters, most of them very large portions of Chapters; he that shall please to peruse them, shall finde more in them, then demanding Questions only. No question demanded by our Saviour was further instructive, then as it gave occasion to an answer. It is the marrow of the answer, not the bone of the Question that nourisheth with instruction; And Luke 2. 47. (the first Scripture alledged by him in this Cause) it is said, *That all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and ANSWERS*, not at his Questions. Notwithstanding, we acknowledge Aristotles *ἡρώδης ἀποκρίσεις* to be very usefull and serviceable

able for the advancement of knowledge; only herein we must crave pardon, if we judge it no signe of any depth or thoroughness in an Argument or Subject; to be imperious and sore in asking Questions about it, and but weak and superficial in giving Answers.

Again, whereas hee supposeth, p. 4. that *Independent Ministers and Congregations* lay claim to a *sovereign Temporall Jurisdiction*, for the prescribing and sitting up of a *Church-Government*; certainly it is a mistake, (whatsoever it is more) they claim no *Jurisdiction* at all, much lesse any *temporall Jurisdiction*, least of all any *sovereign Jurisdiction*, to prescribe unto any (much lesse, to command or injoyne under penalties, which is proper to *sovereign Temporall Jurisdiction*) any *Church-Government* whatsoever: they only submit to that *good and holy and perfect Will of God*, for the regulation of themselves, in point of order amongst themselves, as far as he hath pleased to enlighten them with the knowledge thereof; without taking any offence at others, for being contrary-minded to them, and without the least semblance or shew of claiming any *Authoritative or Temporall power* to impose or force what they practise themselves upon others.

Señ. 3.

Again, whereas because some of the Independents (as he chargeth them, p. 5. whether truly or no, I can neither affirm, nor deny) refuse to heare the *Scriptures* read in our Churches, hee thinks to evict this practise of theirs, by proving (and that by no lesse then thirteen Texts of Scripture) that *publike reading of them is an ordinance of God*; I conceive it is a defect or mistake in point of proof. Because, if such *refusall* be made by any, it is not made either upon denying or questioning, whether *publike reading of the Scriptures, be an Ordinance of God*; but either upon questioning, whether the bare reading of them in *publike*, without giving the sense of them, or framing some exhortation upon them, or the like, be an Ordinance of God (which some of the Scriptures cited by himself, particularly, *Neb. 8.8.* make very questionable) or else upon this reason and ground of conscience, that a man may very safely refuse an inferior accommodation for his soul, when he hath a lawfull opportunity to injoy a superior.

Señ. 4.

Again, whereas he affirms, p. 5. the only point in question (I presume he means about Church-Government only to be, whether the Independent modell alone be that exact, unalterable form of Church-Government, which Christ hath punctually & particularly set down for all

Christian nations, Churches to follow; and yet both in the same page afterwards, and in severall passages besides in this Discourse, denies that there is any such form of Government, so punctually and particularly set down by Christ, doubtles it cannot but be a mistake, if it amounts not to an error: for they that hold the Independent modell (as hee calleth it) to be the only form of Church-Government, which Christ hath so punctually and particularly set down, must needs hold wichall, that Christ hath set down a form of Church-Government upon such terms, I mean, which is, and must be, unalterable. Now Mr. Pryme, (with many others of his judgement, in this controversie) denying this latter opinion, as well as the former, evident it is, that the former cannot be the only point in question. But the truth is, that besides both the one point & the other, there are many others in question, though possibly not of that difficulty or importance: yea, himself in the following page, propounds another question, differing from this, to which notwithstanding hee appropriates the same honour, and affirms it to be the sole Question too.

Sec. 5.

Again, p. 6. whereas he determines, moderated or regulated Episcopacy, to be the same with Presbyterie; I conceive this determination will hardly be voted orthodox in the Assembly it self, nor in the generall Assembly of the Church of Scotland. For my part, though I cannot approve of it as matter of truth, yet for matter of inconvenience otherwise, I have nothing to charge it with.

Again, whereas (in the same page) in case the Parliament by the Synods advice, should unanimously establish a moderated Episcopacy, as most consonant to the Scriptures, he professeth for himself, that hee shall readily submit unto it; and wichall demands of the Antiquerist, Why not hee, and all others? as if either the consonancy of a practice to the Scriptures, or the example of one man submitting unto it as consonant thereunto, were a sufficient ground for all men whatsoever to submit likewise unto it, without any more ado; this favours strongly of that error, which comports so well with the practice of some, viz. that if men in Authority shall conclude and injoyne any thing, as consonant to the Word of God, all men are bound readily to submit unto it, without asking any Question for conscience sake; yea, or whether they see either consonancy or dissonancy in it thereunto.

Sec. 6.

Again, whereas he owns this saying, p. 6. as the naturall issue lawfully

lawfully begotten of the body or soule (th'one) of his own position, that *Politicians and Statesmen are fit to be consulted with to suit a Church-government best to the Civill State*; certainly it is no assertion to be rejoyced in. For as the Apostles made their enemies themselves judges in this point between them, *Whether it was meet to obey God, or them*: So shall I willingly abide the arbitration of any of all those that make but the least conscience of fearing God and his King (Christ,) whether the government of Christs Church and Kingdome should condescend, and be compelled by Politicians and Statesmen to doe obeysance to civill States in accommodating them; or whether the government of these should not rather veyle, and doe homage unto that, and deny themselves in their most indeered Principles and maximes of State, to give all accommodation and honour unto it. The truth is, that the government of Christs Kingdome in a civill State, will never do any great thing for it, except it first receive accommodation from it. The truth knowes no compliance, but onely with those that submit to it.

Whereas (pag. 6.) he placeth *the whole representative as well Church as State of England in the Parliament*, though I dare not gainsay it, fearing lest Mr. Bryn, claiming (as it should seem) a privilege to make the privileges of Parliament what he pleaseth, should make it a presumptuous and misfull undermining of the undoubted privileges of Parliament by the very roots: yet I must ingenuously professe, that it is a notion which I know not how to procure quarter for in my brain, as yet. What I may doe hereafter when the Gentleman shall bestow more cost and pains upon it to reconcile the disproportion which for the present it carrieth to my understanding, I will not predetermine. But none of all the Authors or Books that ever yet I was debtor unto, for any grain or scruple of that knowledge wherewith God hath pleased to recompence my labour in studying, ever licensed mee to call any Assembly the Representative Church of any State or Kingdome wherein there is not so much as any one Church-officer to be found

Self. 7.

Whereas he affirmes it (in the same page) *a truth so cleare, that no rationall man, good Christian, or subjezt, can deny it, that the whole representative Church and State of England in Parliament, have sufficient authoritie by Gods law to over-rule and bind all, or any particular members*

Self. 8.

bers or congregations of it, as well as the major part of an Independent Congregation; power to over-vote and rule the lesser part, and to order yea, bind any of their particular members; though for the danger aforesaid, it be not (perhaps) so safe for me simply to call the latter assertion touching the comparison between the two powers, either an error or a mistake; yet that this assertion should be a truth so royally qualified, that *no reasonable man, or good Christian can deny it*, seemes not so reasonable. The reason is, because in an Independent congregation, all the members by free and voluntary consent have submitted themselves to the regulation and order of the whole body, or (which is the same) of the major part of it: and therefore this body having received a lawfull power in a lawfull way, for the reiglement of her respective members, may lawfully exercise it according to the tenor and true intent of the delegation of it: whereas there are many thousands in the Church and State of *England*, who by Mr. *Prynnes* owne acknowledgement (p. 24. line 3. 4.) have not given any such consent for their regulation in matters Ecclesiasticall, and which concerne Religion, unto the Parliament; yea, and there are many thousands more besides those which hee there describes and intends, who will not owne any such Resignation. Therefore the difference between the one case and the other, is very broad, and no lesse considerable, so that a *reasonable man* may without any dispraise to his Reason, and a *good Christian*, without any prejudice to the goodnesse of his Christianity, demurre a while before judgement upon the case.

Besides, there is no question, or ground of doubting, but that a *good Christian* may lawfully, and with a good conscience, submit himself unto a godly, able, and faithfull Pastor, together with his people, whom he hath good ground to judge godly, and faithfull also, as well for their edification in their *most holy faith*, as for the inspection & regulation of themselves in matters of life and conversation: But whether it be lawfull to submit to any man, or any rank or association of men, (especially of men, of whose sufficiency and faithfulness in the things of God, and Jesus Christ, we have either but a very slender or no testimony at all, yea whose persons are altogether unknowne to us) in matters which concerne the worship and service of God, cannot but be a question, and that of great moment,

moment, to all considering and conscientious men, who are not already satisfied in the negative part of it. The Apostles doe not onely permit, but give it in charge to Christians in Church-fellowship, to *submit themselves one to another in the feare of God*, Eph. 5. 21. i. to be yeelding, and tractable, easie to be intreated one by another. And, *submit your selves every man unto another*, 1 Pet. 5. 5. If one man ought to submit to another man in this kind, much more ought one to submit unto many, and most of all to the whole society of Saints whereof he is a member. But as touching submission unto any man, or men whatsoever in matters which concerne the worship and service of God, the Scripture is so farre from imposing this upon any man, that it imposeth the contrary, and that with great Emphasis and weight, *Call no man your father upon earth*, (is our Saviours owne charge, *Matth. 23. 9.*) *for one is your Father which is in heaven*. And in the preceding verse, *Be ye not called Rabbi: for one is your master (or Doctor) even Christ, and ye all are brethren*. And the Apostle, 1 Cor. 7. 23. *Ye are bought with a price; be ye not the servants of men*. He speaks of a servility or subjection in judgement and conscience, to the decisions or determinations of men in matters of conscience and Religion. And whosoever doth submit or subject himselfe in things of this nature unto any man or men whosoever, that is, resigne up his judgement and conscience to be ordered, obliged, and tied, by the mere authority or magistracy of men in such things, *Call's men Fathers on earth, makes himselfe a servant unto men*: and consequently makes himselfe a transgressor both of our Saviours injunction and charge in this behalf, and of his Apostles also.

Thirdly, he that submits himselfe to a Pastor and Congregation of Saints for such regulation as hath been mentioned, is presumed to know and understand before-hand, of what spirit both the one and the other are; how matters appertaining to the worship and service of God, are carried, managed, and ordered amongst them; so that he may with the full concurrence and consent of his judgement and conscience, submit himselfe unto them, as touching communion with them in their practice in this kind: but what any Synod, Assembly, or Court of men will determine or enjoin in such things, cannot be known before-hand by any man; and consequently, no man can with a good conscience submit himselfe

himselfe unto them, as touching any of their determinations or decisions, untill he first understands what they are, and whether according to the light and iudicature of his conscience, agreeable to the word of God.

Fourthly, in case a Pastor and Congregation shall afterwards so farre alter and vary from that posture either in Doctrine or practice, wherein they stood, when a man first joyned and submitted himselfe unto them, that hee cannot with the peace of his conscience walk any longer with them, hee may with leave obtained, or otherwise if by request it cannot be obtained, withdraw himselfe without any inconvenience, from their communion, and incorporate himselfe elswhere, as he judgeth best. This may be done with farre lesse trouble and inconvenience, then ordinarily a man upon a dislike of his Parochial Pastor, can remove out of one Parish into another. But when such things concerning the worship and service of God, which a man cannot with a good conscience submit unto, shall be enacted and commanded, under mulcts and penalties by those that have power and authority over us, wee cannot refuse subjection hereunto, but at our perill, and with the sustaining of what detriment or dammage, whether in our estates, liberties, or otherwise, as the commanders shall please to impose. Therefore the case between a particular Congregation, and the representative body of a Kingdome, is farre different.

Fifthly and lastly, the representative Church and State of a Kingdome, may (and doth ordinarily) differ from it selfe in poynt of judgement touching matters of Religion) at severall times, as much as heaven and earth. Such Bodies in the dayes of Queene Mary, and before, stood up for Lordly Episcopacie, which you confesse, page 8. that Body which now is, hath by solempne covenant abjured. And besides, enacted many things concerning the worship & service of God, which other Bodies of the same representation and power, have since repealed. And the nature and claim of such Bodies as these in their severall successions, is, that what power soever hath been either given unto, or exerted by any of the Predecessors, of right appertains to the Successor. So that suppose the representative Body now in being, shall be freely and willingly submitted unto, as having a lawfull power to establish what they shall please in matters of Religion, as most agreeable to the word

of God: this submission doth not onely interesse or confirm them in this power, but in the consequence and construction of it, is the like interressing and confirmation in the same power, of all their successors, of what constitution or judgement soever they shall bee for matters of Religion. Whereas for particular Independent Congregations (*loquendum ut vulgus*) their present constitution being sound & safe, as touching their members, being all in the judgement of charity (and discretion too) persons of conscience, and of competent understanding, they are not like in an ordinary way of providence, to degenerate or decline in their successors: and besides, in case they should, their Interest and authority over any of their members, may at any time, and under their greatest confirmations, be declin'd without any considerable dammage, or inconvenience, as was formerly shewed. So that Mr. Prymnes Truth now under consideration (I meane his Assertion so called) is nothing so cleare, but that a *rationall man* may deny it; yea, the more *rationall* a man is, he is the more like to deny it.

The Antiquerist having said, that *the Saints think Christ alone is King over his Churches, and hath not left them to Substitutes, &c.* whereas Mr. Prymne, page 6. replies thus; *If hee meanes it onely of matters of Faith, or of internall government over the soules of men, it may pass as tolerable; it is (as I conceive) an expression which may not pass as tolerable, being worse then an ordinary error, or then more then an ordinary mistake. He that calls any thing tolerable, must needs suppose it either to be evil, or inconvenient (at the best.)* Now if Mr. Prymne thinks it either *evill* or *inconvenient*, that Christ should be King alone over his Churches, in matters of faith and internall government of their soules, it is no marvell if he seeks to interesse men in a Legislative power over his Churches in respect of their externall government; it is a marvell rather, that he seeks not to infringe his title and claime even to the *internall government of their soules* also, and that hee anoints not *Representative Bodies of Churches and States*, with authority to repeale the Articles of the old Creed, and to enact another.

Whereas (in the same page) hee tells his Antiquerist, that hee must renounce his oath of *Allegiance, his late Protestation, and Nationall Vow and Covenant, make foure or five Canonickall Scriptures Apocrypha, with some such other mormolukies as these, if he thinks Christ to*

Sett. 9.

Sett. 10.

be King alone over his Churches, in point of externall Ecclesiasticall government, Discipline, or Order; I conceive this consequence of his to be Inconsequent & a mistake. For first, the Scriptures he specifies, Rom 13. 1. to 6. 1 Pet. 2. 13. 14. Tit. 3. 1. 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2, 3, 4. speake nothing of Ecclesiasticall Government, nor of any subjection unto Kings or Rulers in matters of Conscience, or Religion; but onely of that obedience which is due unto them in civill things: yea some of them (the last by name) not so much as of either. And secondly, for the *Nationall vow and Covenant*, doubtelesse they that took and sware that, did not abjure the absolute Monarchicall Independent power of Christ over his Churches, nor did they swear homage or fealty to any other Lord or Lords, but with a *Salvo jure, &c.* saving the rights and priviledges of the Lord Paramount, Jesus Christ; amongst which that is one of the most *undoubted* ones, to have the *sole dominion over the faith and consciences of men*, especially in things concerning the worship and service of God. And thirdly and lastly, for the *Oath of Allegiance*, and late *Protestation*, either there is nothing contained in either of these, but what is of a cleare and perfect consistence with this *sole dominion of Christ over the faith and consciences of men*: or if there be, the renouncing of them will be more honourable and safe for Christians, then their taking of them was, or then their standing by their ingagement in that kind will be.

Scd. 11.

But whereas (page 7.) he affirms, that Christ hath delegated his Kingly power to Christian Kings, Magistrates, and highest civill powers; as likewise bequeathed his Propheticall Office unto Ministers: these *certo certius* are errors in the highest, *undermining* (I shall not abate, wilfully and *presumptuously*, in the reckoning) the *undoubted* priviledges of the Throne of Jesus Christ by the very roots. For are not the Offices of Christ incommunicable? appropriable only unto him who is ~~God~~ God & Man, and Mediator? Or is Christ retired from the throne of his glory, to live privatly as a Recluse, to solace & enjoy himselfe in some solitary angle or by-corner of heaven? Or hath he eas'd his shoulder of that great burthen of the government of the world, which was laid by God upon it, devolving it upon the shoulders of others? Where is then the promise of the *Eaerlastingnesse* of his Kingdome, and of the *continuance of his dominion through-out all ages*? And where is the prediction of his *delivering up his King-*

Kingdome unto his Father, if he hath delivered it up (or down rather) unto men? Surely he means to call for it againe out of their hands, before that day. But if *Kings and Magistrates have the Kingly Power of Christ delegated unto them*, they have all power given unto them both in Heaven and Earth, and consequently have not onely a right and lawfullnesse of Authoritie to command as well all the Angels of Heaven, as men on Earth, but also to incline and bow the hearts of both, to the willing execution & fulfilling of those commands. And if so, let them impose what Ecclesiasticall Government or Discipline they please, they may, if they please, be obeyed and submitted unto upon what terms, with what willingness and readinesse, and by whom they desire. And if *Ministers be invested in the Prophetical office of Christ*, how dares Mr *Payne* refuse to hearken unto them? or ingage himself in a theologicall warre against them, having no part or fellowship in this office himself? Will he subject the spirit of the Prophets, yea, of those that prophesie in the Authoritie, and by the vertue of the Prophetical office of Christ, unto himself, and his own spirit, being no Prophet at all? *Letentur tenebrae, erubescat lux.*

Againe, whereas (in the same page) he votes, that if any man deny a certain odd kind of veritie (so called and asserted by him) he must renounce not onely his *Christianitie*, but his *Allegiance and Humanitie* too; I utterly renounce the consequence, conceiving it to be tantamount with an absolute mistake. For a man may deny, that every Christian in point of Conscience is bound by the expresse resolution of *Rom. 13. 1. 1 Pet. 2. 14, 15.* (with severall other Scriptures as little to the purpose) without any danger of blind obedience, to lawfull decrees, consonant to Gods Word, &c. without renouncing, yea, or so much as a shew of renouncing his *Christianitie* (and much more of his *Humanitie*.) For what hath a mans *humanitie* to doe with the expresse resolution of *Rom. 13. 1. to 6. 1 Pet. 2. 14, 15. Josh. 1. 16, 17, &c.* Or what hath the expresse Resolution of these and other Texts, to preserve a mans *Christianitie* from the danger of blind obedience, even to lawfull decrees, in case the lawfulness of them be not leene, nor so much as examined, by those that submit unto them? A man is in the same danger of blind obedience, as well in respect of lawfull, as unlawfull decrees. Yea, a man that after a serious and conscientious debate, (hall upon a mistaken ground submit unto an unlawfull decree, acquits himself

Seet. 12.

more like a Christian, and with better acceptance unto God by following the light of his conscience upon such terms, then he that shall subject himself unto a *lawfull decree*, without knowing, or caring to know, what, why, or wherefore he so doth.

Sec. 13.

Againe, Whereas (in the same page) he taxeth the Anti-querist for *presuming an oversight in the Parliament and Synod, before it be actually committed*, and censures this (imaginary) act of his, as *neither Christian, charitable, nor any way of Christ*; and for the prooffe hereof, cites 1 Cor. 13. 5. 7. Certainly; all this is an *oversight*, and nothing els but the *presuming of an oversight*, where none is. For he that saith thus, *Suppose the whole Parliament and Synod should erre in commanding a Government, &c.* doth not so much as *suppose*, much lesse *presume*, that either of them will so erre; no more then the Apostle Paul, in saying, *If Christ be not risen*; *presumes*, that Christ is not risen: least of all doth that Text, 1 Cor. 13. 5. 7. prove that act or speech of the Anti-querist here taxed, to be either unchristian, or uncharitable.

1 Cor. 13. 5. 7.

Sec. 14.

Nor is that marginall note in the same page excusable at any lower rate then a mistake of that kind, which they that speak sparingly, are wont to call an *intruth*; which chargeth the Independent party, that *without discovery or prooffe of their way, they will have the Presbyterians blindly to submit unto it, as the only way of Christ*. Never was a poor innocent margin compell'd to carry a more guilty Annotation then this. It is the first-born of abhorrencies in Independency, to compell any man *blindly to submit* unto any thing. That insinuation following, is an arrow shot from the same bow, viz. that the Anti-querist and his, *oppose and prejudicate both the Parliaments and Synods, though never so pious, conscientious and religious*. This were something to the purpose, if there were any thing to the prooffe. *Verum de genere hoc aduersus multa, &c.*

Sec. 15.

Whereas p. 8. because the two Brethren in their Reply to A. S. used this expression concerning the Congregationall Government, that *in time it cannot but overthrow all other sorts of Ecclesiasticall Government*, he gathers upon them with this insulting Interrogatory; *Is it not then a turbulent, dangerous, schismaticall, unquiet (that I say not, insufferable) Government by your own confessions, which will admit no equal nor corivall, &c. is not this, either through weaknesse of understanding, or strength of a worse principle, an insufferable interpre-*

terpretation? Or can it but call to remembrance, that testimony of those two against our Saviour (who are call'd *false witnesses* for their labour, *Mat. 26. 60.*) wherein they testified, that he had said, *I can destroy the Temple of God, and build it againe in three dayes,* as if he had spake concerning the materiall Temple, whereas it is evident from *Job. 2. 21.* that he spake concerning the Temple of his body? In like manner, what the two Brethren spake (as is most apparent in the passage cited by him from p. 111. of the said Reply) concerning the snall prevailing of the Congregationall Government over other Governments, by reason of that affinitie which it hath with the Truth, and *consonancy with the word of God*, this man will needs interpret, as if they spake it in respect of some fierce, fiery, turbulent & domineering spirit, wherewith that way of Government should be haunted or inspired above all others; yea, his pen blusheth not to avouch (in effect) that themselves confesse as much. The whole passage in the said Reply, that the Reader may the better judge, is this; *Indeed, by the beauty and perfect consonancy of this Government to the word of God, it may very reasonably (yea and upon higher terms then of reason, meaning I suppose, of Faith) be thought that in time it cannot but overthrow all sorts of Ecclesiasticall Government, and stand up it self in their stead.* Those words in this period, *it cannot but overthrow all sorts of Church-Government*, they borrow from the pen of their Adversary, (as appears by their different character) in which respect, for a man confederate with him in the same cause, to put a sinister or malevolent construction upon them, though used by his opposites, is very unnaturall, and a breach of ingenuitie (I verily beleeve) without president.

Whereas a few lines after, he vapours thus, *Will any Parliament, State, or Nation (think you) suffer such a Government to take root among them, which will un-King, un-Parliament, un-Church, un-Nation them altogether, and make each severall Congregation an absolute Monarchie, Church, &c.* A man would think he were calling for the making of three Tabernacles, one for Moses, and one for Elias, and a third for himself, not knowing indeed what he speaketh. In case a few poore Christians, persons truly fearing God, shall be permitted to worship and serve God in such a way, wherein they may enjoy the peace of their consciences being tender, is such a permission as this, of any such formidable aspect, as to threaten, either the un-Kinging

Self. 16.

Kinging of a State, or the un-Parliamenting of a Parliament, or the un-Nationing of a Nation, or the un-Churching of a Church? Or are such persons more likely, or upon terms of any more advantage (in case their inclinations stood for it) to bring any of these doomesdayes upon a State or Nation, when they are permitted to worship and serve God with peaceableness of Conscience, then they would be, in case they were compelled contrary to their Conscience in both? Surely the man to whom the shadows of the mountaines seemed men, was very prudent and advised in his feare, in respect of him that is terriculamented with such apocryphall pretences of feare, as these.

*Et si nullus erit pulvis, tamen excute nullum :
Quilibet officio causa fit sua.*

Sect. 17.

Whereas he saith, p. 9. that in Parliaments every particular man hath his vote, though not in proper person, yet in their Deputies; and yet p. 24. that there be a degree of vulgar people, who have no votes in Parliamentary elections, (and consequently can have no Deputies) I shall claime no priviledge of determining, which is the error or mistake; but freely give him leave to be his own carver herein: let either number 9, or number 24. be condemned for either, that so the Law of Contradictories however may be satisfied, and all my demands are satisfied in this particular.

Sect. 18.

Whereas p. 9. he so much rejoiceth over that saying of his own, That there is no example of gathering Independent Congregations, not of Infidels, but of men already converted to, & settled in the Christian Faith, unlesse derived from the private Conventicles, of Arius, Novatians, Donatists, and other Heretiques, who yet were not Independent among themselves; as if it were a true laying indeed, and overly bitter to Independents, because undeniable; the truth is, that the truth of it (were it granted) will hardly equall the dust in the ballance, to make the cause he maintains weightie. He that saith, there is no example of gathering Independent Congregations of men already converted to, and settled in the Christian Faith, unlesse derived, &c. must needs suppose and grant, that there are examples of gathering such Congregations of men not yet settled in the Christian Faith, which are not so derived, &c. according to the tenor of that knowne maxime, *Exceptio firmat Regulam in non exceptis*. He that should say thus, there is no example of any

any man truly sanctified, that ever finally apostatis'd from his Christian profession; implies and grants, that there are or may be examples of persons never truly sanctified, who did so apostatise. Now if there be examples of gathering Independent Congregations, of men onely converted to the Christian Faith, though not yet established or settled in it, other then those that are derived from the Conventicles of Heretiques; it is an argument of more strength to countenance the Congregationall Government, then any Mr Prynne hath brought either to disable that, or to strengthen the other, in whose defence his pen so much triumpheth. Suppose the Apostles did build up or gather Independent Churches or Congregations onely of persons newly converted to the Christian Faith, and not of such as had been settled herein, yet 1. this amounts to an expresse patterne of (and consequently to a sufficient warrant for) gathering Independent Congregations simply, or in such cases, wherein there is not error in personis. Nay, 2. if these Apostolicall Independent Congregations did at their first gathering or framing consist onely of persons lately Infidells, and as yet newly converted unto, and not settled in Christianitie, yet afterwards, the same Congregations must needs be supposed to consist of persons settled in Christianitie also, unlesse we will suppose either that such as were converted by the Apostles to the Faith, were never either by them, or any others settled herein; or els that upon such settling of them, their Congregations were either broken up and dissolved, or els specifically chang'd in their Government. Either of which suppositions, though to others they may be but as gnats, easie to be swallowed, yet to me they are Camells, I cannot get them downe. So that we see Mr Prynne hath gotten nothing yet by his true undeniable passage, (for which notwithstanding, he scarcely refraineth from sacrificing unto his pen) but onely the giving of his adversaries such an argument for their cause, which he will never be able to take away from them. And whereas in the latter part of this passage, he would insinuate, (that which more plainly he affirms a few periods after) that those that gather Independent Congregations, derive their practise from the examples, of Novatians, Donatists, and other Heretiques; whom yet he denies to have been Independent amongst themselves; it is as if he should challenge women that are modest and chaste, for deriving their behaviour from the example of Josephs Mistrisse, or servants that

that were loyall and faithfull to their Masters, for imitating the practise of Judas Iscariot. Now since the passage we wot of, whilst supposed true and undeniable, doth us more service, then the evi-
 tion of it for false, would doe; I conceive not my self bound, either in point of wisdom or conscience, to make a labour of the confutation or conviction of it.

Señ. 19.

Whereas p. 10. he demands, *Why the Nationall Church of the Jews under the Old Testament, should not be a patterne for us to imitate, as well as their Nationall Covenant, Fasting, Sabbath-keeping*; the question (I conceive) carries an error (or at least a mistake) in the ground and foundation of it. It supposeth, that we covenant, fast, keep Sabbath, &c. onely in imitation of that Nation, who did the like, and that we have no other ground for these practises, but the nationalitie of the like observations amongst the Jews: whereas if we had no better foundation for them then this, the nationall Idolatries of that people would be a patterne for us to imitate, as well as these. If Mr Prynne will needs have the Nationall Church of the Jews, a pattern for us to imitate, let him procure an Injunction from Heaven for the imitation, and we are ready to joyne issue with him.

Señ. 20.

Whereas p. 11. he saith, that wicked members of a Church, when excommunicated, after they are baptized, do not actually cease to be members, &c. Certainly it is a mistake, one or more, if nihil supra. For 1. if such members when excommunicated, doe not actually cease to be members, I would know whether then they cease to be such potentially onely? If so, they ceased thus to be members, as soone as ever they became members; they were then in potentia remota of ceasing to be members, as a man is of dying, as soone as he is borne: or if we speak of potentia propinqua, they thus ceased to be members, upon the committing of those sins, which rendered them justly obnoxious either unto excommunication by the Church, or unto death by the Civill Magistrate, before either of these censures or sentences pass'd upon them. Therefore if they actually cease not to be members when excommunicated, they cease not at all to be members; or at least no otherwise, then they ceased to be before such excommunication: and if either, what doe we with this learned impertinencie, actually? But 2. if wicked members when excommunicated, doe not actually cease to be members, I marvaile our Saviour should allow them no better quar-

ter amongst their fellows, then to be look'd upon as *Heathens and Publicans*? Mat. 18. 17. It seems *Heathens and Publicans* may be actual members of Mr Prynnes Presbyterian Church; yea, though they be by the highest hand the Church can lift up, cast out of it. *Ne verè, ne me ad tales compellite coetus.* And 3. and lastly, what mysterious notion he should intend to let in, or what dangerous conceit he should intend to shut out by that emphaticall insertion, *after they are baptized*, is out of the hemisphere of my apprehension. All that I can work out of it, is this; that there is or may be a two-fold excommunication of the members in a Christian Church; one, before they are baptized; and another, after: and that by the power of the former excommunication, they actually cease to be members of their respective Churches; not so by virtue of the latter, which (it seems) is either more indulgent, or lesse vigorous and active. If this be Mr Prynnes Doctrine, it is most properly and peculiarly his; *Liberi per primos posuit vestigia Princeps*: if it be not his, *Sensum & sententiam vestram, ô verba*, after they are baptized.

Whereas immediately after, he argues thus, that since none separated from the Churches of Ephesus, Colosse, Smyrna, and though they had some corruptions and evill members, therefore for us to separate from, and un-church such Nationall or Parochiall Churches, which have such members in them, is to un-church all Churches in the old and new Testament, &c. He commits as many errors in arguing, as a man shall lightly meet with within such a compasse of words. For 1. he must be beholding either to an abundant weaknesse or charitie (th'one) in his Reader, to obtaine the grant of that which is the base or rife of this whole argumentation, viz. that none separated from the Churches of Ephesus, Colosse, &c. Negative proofes from the Scripture in this case are not concluding. But suppose charitie should cover the nakednesse or weaknesse of this supposition, and passe it as a truth, yet 2. that such a supposition should argue, that to separate from Nationall or Parochiall Churches which have evill members in them, is to un-church all Churches in the old and new Testament; hath neither head, nor foot, neither body nor soule of reason in it. For 1. they who separate from a Nationall Church, supposing no place or ground for such a Church under the New Testament, have no ground or colour but to judge that such a Church was lawfull, and truly so called

led under the old: as they who now separate themselves from Circumcision and other Judaicall observations, as superstitious and highly displeasing unto God, doe in no reasonable construction hereby deny, but that sometimes they were, or might have been, a legitimate and acceptable worship unto him. 2. Nor is there any sinew or strength of reason at all in this position; *they who separate from a Nationall, or Parochiall Church, which have wicked members in them, doe therefore separate, because of these members,* more then there is in this; they who avoid the company of men with heads, doe therefore avoid them, because they have heads. There may be reasons more then enough, of separating either *from a Nationall, or from a Parochiall Church,* besides the wickednesse of some of the members of them: yea, I doe not conceive that ever any man separated from either of these Churches, *Nationall or Parochiall,* simply or solely upon this ground: nor doe I judge it a sufficient cause of separation from either. Mr Prynne himself hath separated from the Church of England as Episcopall, and hath given the strength of his assistance to cast it into another frame or mould of Government, whereby it will specifically differ from it self: and yet it is a plain case, that he hath not made this *separation* from it, because of the wickednesse of some of the members that were in it, whilst Episcopall; because it is like to have many of this character, in case it shall be torkened to Presbyterall. Therefore a man *may separate either from a Nationall or Parochiall Church which have wicked members in it, without unchurching* (yea, or disparaging) *any Church at all, either in the Old or New Testament.*

163. 22.

Whereas p. 12. he collect's thus; *If Independents denie that there were diverse particular Congregations at Jerusalem, then they must prove, that all the Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem, were Pastors but of one and the self-same Individuall Congregation;* it is at least a mistake, though pardonable in a Lawyer, yet not in a Logician. For 1. suppose there were diverse particular Congregations at Jerusalem, it doth not follow, therefore all the Elders belonging to these severall Congregations, were Pastors of them, except we stretch the signification of the word, *Pastor,* beyond the Staple of the Scriptures, (as Presbyterians I confesse, usually doe to help themselves at a dead lift) and extend it unto all manner of Governours and Officers in the Church. And consequently, a pluralitie of Congregations at Jerusalem may be denied;

denied; though no prooffe or supposition be made, that *all the Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem, were PASTORS to one Individuall Congregation.* 2. A pluralitie of *Congregations* supposed, it doth not follow, that all, or any of the *Apostles*, were *Pastors* unto any of them; *Pastors and Apostles* being contra-distinguished, *Eph. 4. 11.* He therefore gave *some Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, some Pastors and Teachers.* The Apostles had a Commission to preach unto any particular Church, or Churches, without being made Pastors unto them: yea, himself afterwards in this very page confesseth, that the *Apostles were not immediate Ministers or Pastors to particular Churches.* Therefore Mr *Prymmer* collection (however) faulter. 3. (And lastly) The presence or continuance of so many of the Apostles at *Jerusalem* for a time (for that *all the Apostles* should be present at the meeting, *Act. 15.* is onely Mr. *Prymmer* Gospel) no wayes implies, that their stay there was so much either for the Government or edification of the particular Church of *Jerusalem*, whether consisting of one or more Congregations, as for the generall accommodation of the Gospel, and of the affaires of all particular Churches elsewhere; this Citty being their Head-quarter, or Rendevouz, from whence upon occasion they might, and did the more commodiously issue forth by parties into other parts, upon their spirituall designs, as God called them, or gave opportunitie. So that there is no necessitie at all lying upon them, who conceive that there was onely one Congregation at *Jerusalem*, to prove, that *all the Apostles and Elders there were Pastors of one and the self-same individuall Congregation.* He tells me p. 24. of my *Independent fabrique fastened together with Independent Crochets*: but I can assure him, that if his *Presbyterian fabrique* be not fastened together and supported by better Crochets and Crutches, whether dependent, or independent, then are to be found in the words either of his *twelve considerable serious Questions*, or of his *Independencie examined*, or of this his *Full Reply*, it will drop one piece from another, and the honour of it soone lie in the dust. The inference which he would make by way of question, in the words immediately following those already insisted upon, complains of the same weaknesse with the former. And then (saith he) *what becomes of their independent Churches, which have no Apostle, and onely one Pastor, &c.* I presume his *Presbyterian Churches* want *Apostles*, as much as the *Independents*: and if these be pec-

cant through such a defect, I hope those will not be justified. But how effeminate and loose a consequence is this: The Church at Jerusalem had Apostles and Elders to be the Pastors of it: therefore that Church that hath not both Apostles and Elders to be the Pastors of it, is or can be no true Church; as if Pastors made of Apostles (in case there had been such) had been of the essence of the Church at Jerusalem. If either Mr. Pryme, or any other, shall shew me any one such Independent crochets as this and twenty more in this Reply, in any of my writings, I shall freely confesse a Judgement against them to the fire.

Self. 23.

Whereas (p. 12.) he pretends to find, *an impregnable evidence of the lawfulness of Nationall Synods, Parliaments, in all Christian Kingdomes, and of an Authoritie given them to determine all Ecclesiasticall Controversies, settle, order all Church-affaires, &c. in the frequent Generall Nationall Assemblies, Synods* — among the Israelites prescribed, appointed by God, and no waies contradicted, revoked under the Gospel, invested with such Authoritie, &c. he is (questionlesse) mistaken over and over. For 1. the Assembly spoken of 1 Chron. 13. is to the 14. (the prime place produced by him to prove his *Generall Nationall Assemblies, Synods, amongst the Israelites, prescribed, appointed by God*) is neither there, nor any where else in Scripture said to have been prescribed, appointed by God. Nor 2. did this Assembly, consisting (the King himself excepted) of the Captaines of thousands, and of hundreds, of every Leader, (a very strange Synod to determine all Ecclesiasticall Controversies) either claime or exercise any authoritie in this kind; but only resolved upon the sending to, and gathering together the Priests and Levites, with the generalitie of the people of the Land from all parts, as not thinking it meet to remove the Ark without their preience and consent. Nor 3. were the members of this Assembly, Synod, chosen by the respective Synagogicall Congregations in the Land; and consequently no such *impregnable evidence of the lawfulness of Nationall Assemblies, Synods, now*; though for my part I never questioned the lawfulness of such Assemblies, Synods, as these, but onely the lawfulness of some power, which some of these claime and exercise. 4. Nor did this, nor any other *Generall Nationall Assembly, Synod*, any where to be found in Scripture, ever enact any thing concerning the worship and service of God, under mulcts and penalties, but what God himself had plainly determined and adjudged

judged to be done, in his Law. Nor was this done by any select Assembly, Synod, consisting onely of Priests and Levites, or of persons voted into places of Authoritie by the generalitie of the people of the Land, but by the generality of the people themselves met together, with an uniforme, full and free consent and approbation on all hands. It is said, *2 Chron. 15. 9, 10. 12, 13, &c.* (another Scripture cited by Mr. Prymme, to prove the aforesaid gain-said conclusion) that *all Judah and Benjamin, and the strangers with them out of Ephraim, and Manasse, and out of Simeon, gathered themselves together at Jerusalem, And entered into a Covenant to seek the Lord God of their Fathers, with all their heart, and with all their soule, That whosoever would not seek the Lord God of Israel, should be put to death, whether small or great, — And all Israel rejoyced at the Oath, &c.* Here is no compelling of any man by any *Authoritative Synod* of Priests and Levites, nor by any assembly of the Nobles or persons delegated by the people, to submit unto such a Law, or such a Covenant, as is mentioned; but the generalitie of the people in their proper persons, did voluntarily and freely with one consent enter into this association or agreement between themselves, and confirmed it by an Oath. 5. (And lastly) that which was here generally agreed upon, and solemnly sworne by the people under the penaltie of death, *viz. The seeking of the Lord God of their Fathers, &c.* was not any matter of *doubtfull disputation*, any determination of the sense and meaning of any controvertall passage of Scripture, was not any thing enflaming, any thing destructive to the peace and comfort of those that were tender and conscientious amongst them: no: it was nothing but what in expressness and plainness of words, was required of them by God himself in their written Law (which they had all owned and voluntarily subjected themselves unto formerly ^{b.}) The contrary to it, *viz. Idolatry*, being as exprelly and plainly forbidden in the same Law, and that ten times over ^{c.} Yea, it was the effect of the first & greatest commandement of this Law; Some lively sparkes and impressions whereof remaine to this day in the fleshly tables of mens hearts, anciently written by the finger of God, without the mediation of Scripture-instruction. Thus you see Mr. Prymme's *impregnable evidence for the Lawfulness of an Authoritie in National Synods, Parliaments, Assemblies, for determining all Ecclesiasticall Controversies, &c.* plainly non-suited, and defaced.

— *Trus*

^aExod. 23. 25.
Deut. 6. 12,
13.
Deut. 10. 12.
& 11. 13.
& 13. 14.
& 30. 16.
Josh. 22. 5.
& 24. 14, 23.
^bExod. 19. 8.
& 24. 3.
Deut. 5. 27.
& 26. 17.
Josh. 24. 16,
21, 22, 24.
^cExod. 20. 23.
& 23. 24, 25, 33
Deut. 5. 7, 8, 9,
& 6. 14.
& 7. 5. 16.
& 8. 19.
& 12. 30.
& 13. 2, 3.
& 29. 17, 18.

— *Irus & est subito, qui modo Cræsus erat.* No such authority as that wherein he seekes to infeoffe *Generall Nationall Assemblies, Synods, in determining Ecclesiasticall controversies, &c.* will ever be evidenced from any *Assembly, Synod, heard of in the Scriptures.*

Señ. 24.

Whereas (page 13.) from the words of his Antagonist there expressed, he drawes this conclusion, *Therefore the Infant-Church in the Apostles dayes was not so compleat, perfect in all points, as the multiplied or grown Churches afterwards,* either he amphibologizeth, or else his conclusion is an absolute mistake in reference to his purpose. For though the *Infant-church in the Apostles dayes*, that is, Christian Churches in their first bud and spring, in and about the beginning of the *Apostles dayes*, and their first going forth into the world to preach the Gospel, were not so compleat, perfect in all points, as either the same, or other Churches were afterwards, viz. towards the *later dayes of the Apostles in the world*, when they had supplied and added all things necessary, and any wayes appertaining to the beauty and well-being of these Churches in point of Government and Discipline; yet it follows not from hence, that either these, or any other succeeding Churches after the Apostles dayes, how multiplied or grown soever, ever grew to more beauty or perfection in point of government, then these had attained unto, before the Apostles were taken away by death from them. This conclusion indeed, if Mr. Pryme could have made lawfull prize of it, from the premises of his adversary, would have smiled a little upon his cause: but for the other, it holds no correspondencie at all with it, but rather frowns upon it. For if the Apostles left the Churches of Christ in the perfection of beauty for matter of government, it must needs follow, that any variation from that forme of government wherein they left them, is rather matter of deformity then perfection.

Señ. 25.

Whereas (in the same page) he affirms with an high hand, *that if the Parliament and Synod shall by publicke consent establish a Presbyterian Church-government, as most consonant to Gods word,*— *Independents and all others are bound in conscience to submit unto it, under pain of obstinacie, singularity, &c. in case they cannot really, by direct texts, and precepts, prove it diametrically contrary to the Scripture.*— I conceive it to be a jeofaile in Theologie, a mistake in stead of a truth. For first, a man is not bound in conscience to doe any thing

that is commanded, though both the authority whereby it is commanded, yea and the thing it selfe which is commanded, be never so lawfull, whilst his judgement and conscience remain considerably doubtfull, and unsatisfied touching the lawfulness of it, especially whilst they vehemently incline to thinke and judge the contrary; least of all, whilst the contrary is the absolute and unquestioned decision of both; yea, though the grounds of such a doubt or determination be never so insufficient and weake. The Scripture is cleare in this, *Let every man be fully perswaded (or assured) in his own mind, or understanding, (viz. concerning the lawfulness of what he doth) & not build upon, or content himself with the mind and understanding of others, Rom. 14. 5.* Again, *He that doubteth, is condemned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith; i. not out of a full perswasion or knowledge in himselfe of the lawfulness of his eating in such a kind: For whatsoever is not of Faith [i. is acted or done, and not out of such a knowledge] is sinne, Rom. 14. 23.* Now certaine it is, that no man is bound in conscience, under pain of obstinacie, singularity, &c. to sinne, or bring damnation upon himselfe. The truth is, that to scruple or question the lawfulness of any thing that is commanded by the high hand of Authority to be done, is somewhat singular in the world; and so deserves not the pain, but the honour of singularity: But that such a behaviour or deportment as this, should suffer the pain of obstinacy, is as contrary to reason, as that the Sunne should be arrested for being a nuyance unto the world with his darknes. 2^{ly}, if by proving the contrariety of what he speaks of, unto the Scriptures, by direct texts and precepts, he means, the producing of such texts of Scripture wherein this contrariety is *positus in terminis*, or in *totidem verbis* expressed, he binds a heavier burthen on the shoulders of others, then he is willing himself to touch with the least of his fingers, in all he hath publickly discoursed hitherto upon this subject; yea, heavier then either God, or the common light of reason in men, will suffer to be bound upon them in this case. The Sadducees were bound to beleve the resurrection of the dead by vertue of this text, *I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, Exod. 3. 6.* wherein notwithstanding there is no direct or expresse mention made of this resurrection, as appears *Mat. 22. 31, 32.* In like manner the *Corinthians* were bound to think it a matter of duty to minister in their carnall things, unto those that

served

joined spirituall things unto them, by vertue & warrant of this Scripture, *Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the Ox that treadeth out the Corn*, *Deut. 25. 4.* (as appears *1 Cor. 9. 8, 9.*) & yet evident it is, that the direct letter of such a duty is not here to be found. What proposition soever, shall, or may be found to be a legitimate and native consequence or deduction from any text in Scripture being found, ought to be of the same sacred consideration unto us, and according to the tenor of it, of the same obligation upon us, with that Scripture-ground from whence it issueth and is derived. For if the first fruits bee holy, so is the whole lump: and if the root bee holy, so are the branches, *Rom. 11. 16.* Therefore that Church-government which shall be overthrowne by a direct and pregnant consequence from a text, is as sufficiently overthrowne, as if the defeat had been given by the most direct and expresse letter of such a text.

Seet. 26.

Whereas (page 14.) hee superaddes this notion (in a passage much of the same Import with the last brought under examination) that *though the establishment of a government by the Parliament and Assembly, doth not bind all Independents to be simply of their opinion, yet it binds them in point of practice and obedience outwardly thereunto, and not to separate under pain of arrogancie, faction, schisme, unlesse they can clearely manifest it to be absolutely unlesfull and repugnant to the Scriptures.* I conceive he addes unto his mistakes, if not unto his errors. For first, whereas he here supposeth, that Independents must separate from the government that shall bee established by Parliament and Assembly, (and so must undergoe the pains and penalties imposed upon that crime by the law of his pen) in case they doe not, or shall not submit unto it, hee should have done well to consider, that separation still presupposeth former union. Those whom God hath joyned together, let not man separate, ^a or put asunder. That woman cannot bee divorced, nor yet forsake her husband, which never was married; no more can Independents be said (unlesse by saying that which had been better unsaid) to separate from that government unto which they never were yet united. Therefore let Mr. Pryme, and all other of the Presbyterian judgement, know assuredly, that they will never gain any thing but the wages of unrighteousnesse by charging their brethren of the Congregationall way, either with separation or schisme.

a Mat. 19. 6.

Secondly, to affirme, that *a man though he be not of their opinion,*
who

who shall establish a Government (he must meane, touching the lawfulnessse of the Government so established, or else it is nothing to the purpose) is yet bound in point of outward practise and obedience to submit thereunto, is a note beyond that Elab of the Familists, wherein they teach, that if a man shall keep his heart and mind sound and uncorrupted within, he may for his safety or accommodation otherwise, comply outwardly with any Idolatrous worships or superstitions, or other unlawfull practises whatsoever. This generation it self, doth not hold such an outward compliance as this, simply necessary, in point of dutie or conscience, but onely lawfull in point of Christian libertie. Therefore Mr. Prynn wades deeper into these polluted waters, then they.

3. And (lastly) whereas he thinks sufficiently to *proviso* his former assertion, by adding, *unlessse they can cleerly manifest it to be absolutely unlawfull and repugnant to the Scriptures*; the truth is, that here is neither shield nor buckler that can save it harmlesse. For 1. it is not the truth or soundnesse of a mans judgement standing in opposition to the supposed or asserted lawfulnessse of a thing, that makes the practise of the thing, during the present state of his judgement, unlawfull to him; but the very tenor or state of his judgement in respect of such opposition, whether this state of it be good or bad, sound or unsound. Much lesse 2. is it an abilitie in men to *manifest* unto others the truth or soundnesse of their judgements, when they stand bent against a practise that is enjoyned as lawfull, that onely can excuse them from subjection. Mens actions are not to be regulated either by a Rhetoricall or Logicall facultie of expressing themselves or their judgements to the conviction and satisfaction of others; but by those impressions of righteousness and equitie that are in and upon their judgements, whether they be able to represent or commend them for such unto others, or no. *Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego*, were not able cleerly to manifest it unto *Nabuchadnezzar* and his Nobles, that it was absolutely unlawfull for them to fall downe and worship the golden Image which he had set up: yet was it not therefore unlawfull for them to refuse subjection unto the Kings commandement in that behalf. If the lawfulnessse of our refusing our Superiours in their injunctions and commands, be suspended upon our abilitie to convince them of the unlawfulnessse of these commands, there will not

Dan. 3.

be much danger in it to bid the Papists *God speed*, when they bring the Doctrine of *blind obedience* unto us. Rare are those superiours, that care to impose any thing by way of command, of the unlawfulness whereof they can be willing to be convinced, especially by the commanded: and where there is no disposition, no willingness towards a conviction, arguments and demonstrations are (for the most part) but as *sounding brasse*, and *tinkling cymballs*. *Leviathan* in regard of the strength and toughness of his skin and scales, esteemeth iron as *straw*, and *brasse* as *rotten wood*: *The arrow cannot make him flee: the stones of the sling are turned with him into stubble*, Job 41. 27, 28.

3rd. 27.

Whereas (p. 14.) he saith, that if the Parliament should settle *Independencie*, I am certain you would then write and preach for *universal obedience* to it, without dispute; doubtlesse this certaintie of his is but a confident mistake; For 1. it is no wayes consistent with the principles of that Government he speaks of, to urge or presse *universal obedience* to it; because it professeth an absolute incapacitie in faire the greatest part of men (for the present) for it; nor doth it expect that the *universallitie* of men will ever become capable of it. This Government pleadeth for no subjection to it, but from those that are Saints, at least in view, such I mean, who *doe not in words or deeds denie that Faith*, which in words they profess. Such as these the Scripture pronounceth to be *worse then Infidells*: and therefore whilst such, they are not capable of part & fellowship in that Government, which is appropriate to the Kingdome, or Churches of Christ. Nevertheless, it earnestly prayeth for, and by every other good way and means is ready to endeavour the conversion of these unto God: onely it judgeth not meet to bring them into the Temple, untill they be purified.

1 Tim. 5. 8.

Nor 2. doth this Government presse for subjection unto it from the Saints themselves, *without dispute*: it cares for no Profelytes, but for those that are first instructed, and made disciples. It disdaineth so far to undervalue its beautie and loveliness, as to ravish or force the conscience of any man.

Self. 28.

Whereas (p. 16.) he makes it an *apparent schisme*, separation from all other Churches, for *Independent Churches* to appeale onely to Churches of their own parties; I conceive it is a repetition of a former mistake, with the augmentation of a new. For 1. there is no place for the crimes

crimes of *schisme* or *separation*, but where a preceding union hath prepared it. Well may it be a crime or fault of another nature or kind in Congregationall Churches, to limit themselves in point of appeale, unto Churches onely of their own constitution; but for the crimes of *schisme* and *separation* here charged upon it, it is unquestionably innocent. And Mr. Prymnes Printer (I presume rather casually, then consultedly) by making it, not an *apparent*, but an *apparent* Schisme, hath much eased the burthen of the charge; and represents the action more like unto it selfe in point of truth, then the Author himself intended; for the truth is, there is no realitie or truth, but onely an appearance or shew (at most) of a *schisme* or *separation* in it.

2. It is but a *mistaken* supposition in him, to suppose, that in case an aggrieved partie in an *Independent Church*, shall chuse rather to appeale to a Church (one, or more) of a differing Government and constitution from their own, that this Church will refuse to be accountable unto the Church or Churches so appealed unto, because they are not of the same constitution with it self. I beleeeve there is no Congregationall Church any where, but if it be lawfully and in a Christian manner required or called upon to do it, will be ready and willing to render an account of any of her actions or proceedings, not onely to a *Presbyterian Church*, but even to the meanest member of it. But

3. Why he should call a voluntary *account* given by a Church, a *meere mockery in stead of an account*, unless the Church accounted unto, should have power to *inforce it to correct its errors or injustice*, my eyes can see no reason. For in case the Church which willingly accounteth for her actions unto another, shall, upon the discovery and sight of any *error or injustice* in these her actions, as willingly retract and reforme them (which, with the help and assistance of a very little charitie, may ordinarily, if not universally, be presum'd of Saints) why shall not such a reformation as this, being voluntary and free, be every whit as commendable and reall, as a reformation compelled or enforced would be? And consequently, why should not an *arbitrary* or voluntary *account*, be as Christian, as satisfactory, as reall, as that which is purchased by an iron rod? Or doth any Church or association of Churches, obtaine a quicker or richer spirit of discerning, or a more accom-

plished facultie of convincing Churches that are delinquent, of their errors or injustice, by being armed with a compulsive power over them, then they were or would be capable of, if their authority were consultative and perswasive onely? Or hath a Church called to an account for error or injustice, any more reason to acknowledge either for such, because they are adjudged such unto her, by Churches (one or more) having a coactive power over her, then if this sentence were passed by Churches not daring to chaine, owne, or exercise any such power?

4. And lastly, I would faine know, why it should be more schisme or separation, for an Independent Church to appeale onely unto Churches of their owne partie, and not unto the Presbyterian, then it is for Presbyterian Churches, to appeale onely to Churches of their partie, and not unto the Independent; considering, that Churches of this constitution, are every whit as much (at least) Churches of Christ, as those of the other. But the truth is, it being lawfull and free (as himself here supposeth) for Churches to appeale to Churches, as well of the one constitution, as of the other, that it is somewhat an uncouth and strange conceit, to make schisme or separation of appealing either unto the one, or the other.

Señ. 29.

Whereas (p. 17.) he gives us leave to differ in judgement from the decrees of Synods and Parliaments, when erroneous and contrariant to the expresse Word, not to our owne fancies, inferences, or opinions; doubtlesse, he mistakes, taking that away from us with the one hand, which he gives us with the other; which, I presume was not his intention. For if we may not differ in judgement from Synodically decrees, when they are contrariant to our opinions, wee may not so differ from them at any time. Or may we, or can we differ in judgement from that, which is not contrary to our opinion? Though Mr Prynne differs in judgement from those that hold forth the Congregational way, yet (it seems) he may be of the same opinion with them concerning that way.

Señ. 30.

Whereas (in the same page) he demands of us, If we deem not our selves more holy then our brethren, or be not swayed up with spirituall pride, why refuse we to close with them now, as we have done heretofore? The ground of the demand (questionlesse) is a mistake, and should not suffer *ultra condignum*, if it were called an error. There may be many reasons why one man closeth not with another in point of judgement

judgement (and consequently why not in practice also?) besides *deeming himselfe more holy then his brother*, from whom hee dissenteth, or being *sweld up with spirituall pride*. I doe not conceive that the Apostle Paul deemed himselfe more holy then Peter, much lesse that he was *sweld up with spirituall pride*, when hee not onely dissented from him touching the justifiableness of that course and practice wherein Peter now walked, but (as the text saith ^a) withstood him to his face; but that the true ground of such both dissent and resistance, was partly the standing of Pauls judgement in opposition unto, and dislike of what Peter did; partly the desire hee had of doing his fellow Apostle the Christian kindnesse of making streight that which was crooked in his way; partly also (if not principally) his zeal and faithfulness to his Lord and Master Jesus Christ, and his Gospel, and his Saints, that none of these might suffer losse or disadvantage in the world by the misprisions, or miscarriages of any man, how great or holy soever, as farre as lay in his power to prevent it. Nor would it have been any disparagement or dishonour at all to the name of Mr. Pryme, nor wound (I beleve) to his conscience, if hee had wav'd those hard suggestions we spake of, and substituted these or the like in their stead, as the true grounds of his brethrens *not closing* with him, and those of his judgement in the Presbyterian way. The truth is, that for my part (and I verily beleve that I may truly speak the same for many thousands more) any conceit or *deeming of my selfe more holy then others*, was so far from interestting either my judgement or affections for the congregational way in the least, or from keeping me at any distance from my brethren of a contrary judgement, that a sense of mine owne defectiveness therein, together with an earnest desire of better accomodations for my supplies, was not the least of those motives and arguments which carried and set my heart upon that way. And here I make open profession in the presence of Heaven and Earth, that if any of my brethren of opposite judgement, shall give me any reasonable account, or satisfaction, how in an ordinary way of providence, or experience, I may build up my selfe in holinesse, better (or, if it be but as well) in the way of Presbytery, then in that way wherein I am for the present engaged, I will soon pull down what I have built, and dwell no longer in the Tents of Independencie, but devote my selfe, and all my strength

^a Gal. 2. 15.

strength and might, to the service of that way, which for distinction sake is called Presbyterie. For I make no question, but that way of Church-government which hath the richest sympathy, and most direct and full compliance with the edification of the Saints in holinesse, is against all reasons, grounds, and arguments of what seeming strength or evidence soever, the way which Jesus Christ hath sealed.

(a) Where he chargeth mee to have presumptuously undermined the undoubted privileges of Parliament, with I know not how many more Anti-parliamentary passages diametrically contrary to my nationall vow and covenant, &c.

Self. 31.

For any *harsh censures* cast, or passed by any Congregationall men upon Mr. Prymme, or other of their brethren of Mr. Prymme judgement and way, I trust the complaint is to the height of the crime. I cannot justifie one *harsh censure* given, by a thousand received: but if there were a Law for any such attonement, I make no question but that all the Congregational delinquency in that kind, would be fully purged. If my pen hath trespassed in this kinde, (whereof notwithstanding I am no ways conscious, though upon some charge, I have made diligent enquire after my own guilt) I hope the last period in this Mr. Prymme's Reply ^a, will speak a good word for it, and salve the imputation of such a sin.

Hitherto I have examined onely such passages in the Reply which concerne the common cause depending between the two wayes of Church-government, so much ingaged in competition. My Pen must now travaile for her selfe, and make triall of her strength for the redeeming of her own *Innocency* out of the hand of those accusations, which have laid violent hands upon her. I intend scarce so much as to touch or mention any thing that was brought to the touch-stone in the former part of this discourse: a single vindication is large allowance for criminations without either substance, or colour of truth: the chiefe (& almost the only) thing which I have now to doe, is to weigh the discussions of Mr. Prymme's pen in opposition to those of mine, in the ballance of reason and truth, that so the reader, to whom judgement in this case belongeth, may give sentence accordingly.

Self. 32.

But first it is a thing almost incredible, (doubtlesse farre beyond the belief of any sober or ingenuous man) that a man of that Name and Reputation not only for learning, but for Religion also, which Mr. Prymme is, should affirme, those 15. lines about the middle of page 18. to be the *main doctrine* prosecuted in my discourse called *Θεωρησις*: the said 15 lines being nothing else but a rapsody

or

or collection of severall words, phrases, and expressions, scattered here and there throughout the Discourse, some of them being expressly contrary to those restrictions and limitations, under which the doctrine there prosecuted, is propounded, and asserted in the explication of it. As for example : whereas page 18. of the said *Theomachia*, I expresse my selfe thus ; *If to attempt the suppression, or keeping downe any way, doctrine or practice, which is from God, bee of no lesse concernment, of no safer interpretation then is fighting against God,* then certainly it is the greatest imprudence, or improvidence under heaven, for any man, or warr of men whatsoever, to appeare, especially in any high-handed opposition, or contestation, against any way, &c. In stead of those words, *To appeare, especially in any high-handed opposition,* he, most unworthily and unchristianly substitutes these, *to appeare, or so much as to lift up an hand, or thoughts against any way, &c.* Which falsification of my words is so much the more unsufferable because in the explanation of my doctrine, page 12. I expresse my selfe thus : *It is not every degree or kind of opposing a way, doctrine, or designe of God, which either the Text, or the doctrine calleth a fighting against God, but onely such an opposing which is peremptory, and carried on with an high hand, so that those instruments of God which bee hath anointed to hold forth that way, doctrine, or designe of his in the world, are not suffered to execute their commission, but are countermanded either by the authority, or over-bearing strength or power of men* And immediatly after, for the further explanation of my intent in the doctrine proposed, I distinguish thus : *It is one thing to oppose, or contend against a doctrine or way of God, per modum doctoris : another to doe it per modum judicis :* The former I grant, may befall the best and faithfullest of men; yea, the later I grant to be sometimes incident to men otherwise upright in the main before God; onely affirming that the children of this later contention and contestation against their maker, must expect to be taught more wisdom and reverence towards him with thorns and briers.

And that the Reader may yet more clearly see and judge of Mr. *Pyrmes* artifice in swelling my two lines (at most) of doctrine, into his 14. or 15. of representation, that so hee may have the fairer mark, and bigger But to hit, I shall verbatim transcribe it, as it is laid down about the middle of page 12. of the said discourse. The content and words of it are onely these : *That for any man to endeavour*

Sect. 33-

Jam. 2.

endeavour or attempt the suppression of any doctrine, practice or way, which is from God, is to fight against God himselfe. Which doctrine, especially so qualified and understood, as the subsequent explication states the sense, purport, and meaning of it, I could not lightly expect should ever have been opposed, or contested against by any that were willing to owne *Abrahams* relation of friendship unto God. But with what successe Mr. Prymne hath attempted to shake the foundations of the truth of it, or whether indeed he hath attempted this at all, and not rather (contrary to the Law of all regular disputation) fallen foule onely upon the conclusion it selfe, without giving any answer at all unto the premises, shall bee presently taken into consideration. In the mean time let mee adde this: That if the grossest and most abhorred Heretickes in the world, might have but the same liberty to prove their hereticall opinions out of the Scriptures, w^{ch} M. Prym taketh to represent the doctrine prosecuted by me, and quarrelled against by him, out of my Sermons, they might prove them, and that *ἰσχυρῶς & ἀντιπαρστήσει*, from thence. For what opinion is there, or lightly can be imagined, but that all the words, wherein it is (or at least very easily might be) conceived, may be found some where or other scattered here and there severally in the Scripture, & so be framed together into a sentence? By the law of such a liberty as this, I might say, that Mr. Prymne, in his Full Reply, holds, That *wee must speedily oppose, resist, avoid, suppress, Parliaments, Emperours, Kings, Judges, Magistrates, Ministers, even for conscience sake, and the Lords sake too*. For all these words and clauses are to be found in this discourse of his, as the pages cited in the margine doe direct: yea, and twenty moe as wild and uncouth opinions, and as farre from Mr. Primmes judgement as this, might by the liberty aforesaid, be collected out of the same piece.

(a) Page 18.

(b) Page 24.

(c) Page 9.

Sect. 34.

But let us come to consider those grounds and reasons, upon which, in Mr. Prymnes judgement, it may justly be questioned whether the Doctrine exprest towards the beginning of the last Section (which is the maine, indeed the onely Doctrine prosecuted in those two innocently-offending Sermons) be Orthodox or tolerable.

His first Reason is; because it opens a wide gate to the reviving of all the old, the spreading and propagating of all new Heresies, Errors—without the least timely opposition or prevention, to the endangering of infinite

infinite soules, and disturbance of the Churches, Kingdoms peace. For there is no Heretique, Schismaticke or Sectarie whatsoever, but pretends his way, Doctrine, practise, opinions, to be the way of Christ, &c. Will any reasonable man conceive, that there is any reason at all in all this, to question the truth or soundnesse of the prementioned Doctrine? For any man to forbear the suppression of any Doctrine or Way which is (for any thing that is knowne to the contrary) from God, and that least he should fight against God, is this, to open a wide gate to all heresies, errors, and schismes? Then by the rule of contraries, the suppression of all Doctrines and wayes, which for any thing that is knowne to the contrary, are from God, must be the fast-shutting of the gate against all heresies, errors, and schismes. This is the heart & soule of the first reason, which interesteth Mr. Prymms judgement in questioning the Orthodoxisme, yea, the tolerableness of the premised Doctrine. But by the way, if Mr. Prymms judgement concerning the Doctrine, be, that it opens a wide gate to all heresies, errors, schismes, &c. it is marvaile it should have no further operation upon him, then onely to prevaile with him to question whether it be Orthodox or tolerable: Such an effect or consequent of a Doctrine as this, is foundation large enough to build a confident determination upon, that it is heterodox and intolerable.

And for the body of this Reason, wherein he informes us at large (and that with truth enough) that *Satan and his ministers also transforme themselves into Angels of light*, that false Teachers usually come to seduce men in sleeps cloathing, that there is no Heretique, Schismaticke, or Sectary whatsoever, though never so pernicious, grosse, and detestable, but pretends his way, Doctrine, practise, to be the way and truth of Christ; with many other good sayings to like effect; I cannot but marvaile, what a reasonable man should imagine to be in all this, to make him question the truth of this Doctrine, that for any man to attempt the suppression of any Doctrine, practise, or way which is from God, is to fight against God. Because false Teachers pretend their Doctrine to be from God, doth it therefore follow, that the suppressing of such a Doctrine which is from God, should not be a fighting against God? It is somewhat an hard case, that a man should be arrested of a presumptuous undermining the undoubted privileges of Parliament by the very roots, at the suite of such a consequence as this.

Whereas upon the former assertions, he enters his action in such an Interrogatory as this: *Must we therefore not speedily oppose, resist, avoid, suppress them now, because they thus pretend they are of, and from God, but stay till God hath renounced them, &c.* I joyne issue with him, and say; that there is little lesse then a meere Contradiction in the forme of his Plea; *Those Doctrines, practises, opinions,* which in the former part of his Plea, he had censured and condemned for *Heresies, Errors, Schismes, Sects, &c.* in this latter part of it he supposeth, that *God hath not yet disclaimed, or renounced from Heaven;* and that we see not their condemnation yet written with the beame of the Sun. Else why should he represent it as so unreasonable and hainous a thing, that we should stay the opposing and suppressing of them, till such things were done? Surely Mr. Prymne cannot be so hardy, as to condemne any Doctrine or practise for *Hereticall or erroneous,* untill *God hath some wayes or other disclaimed or renounced them from Heaven,* for such. It is he, not Mr. Prymne, that must, not onely determine, what is *Heresie, Error, and Schisme,* but also signifie his determinations in this kinde, before it comes to Mr. Prymnes turne, or any mans beside, to give any such sentence against them at the barre of their Judgements.

Sect. 35.

A second Reason which created that jealousy in him we spake of, against the forenamed Doctrine, is the contrarietie of it to forty and one expresse precepts and presidents (if my Arithmetique failes me not in the computation) in the old and new Testament; one whereof (*viz.* Jer. 4. 30, 31.) he avoucheth for pregnant; but the rest (it seems) must be compared together, or else the contrarietie in them to the Doctrine which he opposeth, will not utter it self. And it is well that he can be content to afford us *leisure* for the perusall of these Scripture precepts and presidents, though he would afford us none, to peruse or consider of *Doctrines or practises,* as we heard before. But

1. I must professe the second time, that I can little lesse then wonder, that the Gentleman should onely *question* or suspect the *Orthodoxnesse* of a Doctrine, and not positively and peremptorily conclude it *Heterodox,* which carrieth a contrarietie in it to forty-one expresse precepts and presidents of Scripture. A man would think by such a streine of tendernes and indulgence as this, that he were a very faire and favourable interpreter of mens opinions and wayes;
and

and would never exact or stand upon *Summun jus* (which the Proverb interprets to be *Summam injuriam*) with any man.

2. If all the precepts and presidents here drawne together from the Scriptures, be expresse, why is that one, Jer. 4. 30, 31. separated from all its fellows by this parenthesis of preferment, [*a pregnant place*] as if all the rest were barren and empty of that conception, which is indifferently fathered, or mothered rather, upon them all? and one other of them (*viz.* Gal. 2. 4. to 18.) singularized with this parenthesis, [*a noted place*]? If no contrarietie to the suspected Doctrine be found either in the *pregnant place*, or in the *noted place*, I trust all the rest of the places will give place, and confesse themselves strangers thereunto. First, for the *pregnant place*, Jer. 4. 30, 31. doubtlesse, there is not so much as an *anostrophion*, or an embryo of such a contrarietie to be found there. The tenor of the place is this; *And when thou art spoyled, what wilt thou doe? Though thou cloatest thy self with crimson, though thou deckest thee with ornaments of gold, though thou rentest thy face with payning; in vaine shalt thou make thy self faire, thy lovers will despise thee, they will seek thy life,* ver. 30. *For I have heard a voyce as of a woman in travaile, and the anguish as of her that bringeth forth her first child, the voyce of the daughter of Zion, that bewaileth her self, that spreadeth her hands, saying, Woe is me now: for my soule is wearied because of murderers,* ver. 31. I am not able to discern the least swelling or bearing-out of the womb of either of these verses, with any contrarietie in the least, to the import of the Doctrine now under protection. To attempt the suppression of any Doctrine or Way which is from God, may be a fighting against God, and yet God say to the daughter of his people, *And when thou art spoyled, what wilt thou doe?* together with all that which followeth in the two transcribed verses. I beleeve the *noted place* is every whit as voyde of that contrarietie we speak of, as we found the *pregnant place* to be. Mr. Prynne himself, partly transcribes, partly argues this place, beautifying the words or clause wherein he chiefly puts his trust, with emphaticall letters, thus; *Paul would not give way to false Apostles, NO NOT FOR AN HOURE, that the truth of the Gospel might continue among the Galatians, and resisted Peter to his face, as soone as ever he walked disorderly, (he should have spake more truth, if he had said, as soone as ever he understood or knew, that he so walked) and gave the least countenance to false Teachers, &c.*

Fortasse expressum,

Scis simulare: quid hoc, si fractum enitet expes
Navibus, are dato qui pingitur?

Mr. Prymme doth very substantially prove, by this passage, and that which followes, that error in Doctrines, and miscarriages in persons, are to be resisted and withstood, (by wayes and means warrantable by the Word of God) as soone as ever they are certainly discerned, or known to be such: but here is not the least semblance of an Argument to prove, either that the one or the other, ought to be resisted or suppressed, before they are discovered or manifested to be such; or that being discovered or manifested to be such, they ought to be either resisted or suppressed by any other means, then what God himself hath authorized in that behalf; least of all, is there any jot, tittle, or peep of a proof of that, which is the burthen of Mr. Prymmes undertakings, viz. that to attempt the suppressing of any Doctrine or Way which is from God, is not to fight against God.

Self. 36.

Nor doth his third Reason any whit more accommodate his enterprize, then the former. For what contrariety, or shew of contrariety is there in these unquestionable maxims, of Divinity, Policy, and Morality, Principiis obstat: venienti occurrere morbo, &c. to that Doctrine, which only pronounceth, the attempt of suppressing any Doctrine or Way which is of God, to be a fighting against God? yea, on to this; that no Doctrine or Way ought to be suppressed, untill it be certainly known, whether they be from God, or no? He that gave counsell, Principiis obstat, i. to withstand beginnings, did not mean to advise men to make resistance against such beginnings, which might, for ought they know, be as wel the beginnings of good, or of strength, as of evill or sicknesse; but only such beginnings, which did clearly preface inconvenience ensuing, if not timely prevented: And though all wise men hold preventing Physique best for their bodies; yet no wise man holds such Physique best, or good in any degree for his body, which is as like to prevent the health and sound constitution of his body, as any infirmity or dissemper of it. He that will either launce or seare, before he knowes whether the condition of his body requires either, may abound in flesh, but sure is no true bosome of Wisdome. That creature which is indued by God with principles of discerning, certainly was not made to act (especially in things

things of highest importance, as matters of Religion are) at per-
adventure.

His 4th and last Reason holds no correspondence at all with the Truth. For what *contrariety* is there in the Doctrine under Mr. Pryne's arrest, to the Policy, Practice of most godly Magistrates, Princes, Ministers, Churches in all Ages, Nations? When did the Policy or Practice of any of these affirm, that to attempt the suppression of any Doctrine or Way which is from God, is not to fight against God? If his meaning be, that the Policy and Practice of the persons hee represents, never indulged any known Heresies, Errors, Schismes; no, not for an houre, the Doctrine against which hee contends, in this contends not at all against him, but gives him the right hand of fellowship in such an apprehension. Only it adviceth godly Magistrates, Prince, Ministers, Churches, to be very carefull and wary, of suppressing Angels of light indeed, instead of *Satan* transformed into an Angel of light; of baiting and hunting the sheep of Christ, instead of Wolves that come in sheeps clothing; of smothering light instead of darknesse, of smiting truth instead of error and heresie. And is there any harme in this counsell or *contrariety* either to the Policy or Practice of any wise or godly man? Or, if there be any *contrariety* to either, it is because there is a *contrariety* in them to the Word and Willdome of God.

Self. 37.

Whereas in the same Reason, he makes himself a further debtor unto mee, by charging mee, that I plead for Schismes and CONVENTICLES set up only by private spirits in opposition to the publique established Church-reiglement.

Self. 38.

My Answer is:

1. That I know a *publique Church-reiglement* abrogated and demolished, but I know none as yet established. When Mr. Pryne by his Logicke shall convince mee of acting in opposition to that which is not, I trust I shall be provided with mine to give him a satisfying answer.

2. Whereas he declares against me, as a Pleader for Schismes and Conventicles; I answer, that hee is the happiest man I know of his Profession, if he never pleaded any worse Cause, then that which I plead in those Sermons. But whereas in other places of his Reply, his margin glorieth with quotations in abundance, here (it seems) it is ashamed, as not knowing what to say, nor where to finde or
point

point at, any pleading for *Schismes and Conventicles*, as the lines in the page adventure to affirm.

3. What Mr. Prynne's privie notion of a *Schisme or Conventicle*, I am not able to say: but if hee be here of the same minde and judgement with his own marginall note, p. 10. which affirmeth, that none are *Conventiclers* but *Heretiques and Schismaticques*, who wholly separate themselves from our publique assemblies established by law; certain I am, that I plead for no *Conventicles* in those Sermons; nor do I approve of the practice of any, who wholly separate themselves from our publique assemblies. But *calumniare audacter; aliquid herebit*, holds good (it seems) in Law. But,

4. If by pleading for *Schismes and Conventicles*, he means a pleading for the spirituall liberties of the Congregations of the Saints, and of the Assemblies of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven, whom Jesus Christ hath made Kings and Priests unto God his Father, ^b and who are shortly to judge the worl'd, if the vindication (I say) of the rights and priviledges of these in point of exemption and immunity in their spirituall affaires, and such as concern the regulation of their consciences in matters appertaining to the worship and service of God, from the Jurisdiction and interest of the Commissioners and Delegates of the world; if this (once again) be pleading for *Schismes and Conventicles*, I had quitted my self much more like a faithfull Minister of Jesus Christ, if I had pleaded for them yet seven times more, then now I have done. My sorrow and shame (in part) is, that I have pleaded this honourable Cause so weakly, as to leave thoughts and imaginations in Mr. Prynne, which still exalt and magnifie themselves against the righteousness, truth, and equity of it.

5. And lastly, whereas hee calls the Church-government which I plead for, a Government set up only by private spirits; if it be found to be a Government set up by the Spirit of God in the Scriptures (the consideration unto which all my pleadings for it in those Sermons are homagers, being all of them conditionall, and none peremptory or absolute) Mr. Prynne's spirit, and the spirits of all others that shall oppose it, how publique soever their persons may be, will be found to be the private spirits, disallowed in the Scriptures by the Spirit of God.

Sec. 39.

Whereas hee yet adds, that differences and varieties in matters
of

of government are such tender things, that they cannot be tolerated in one and the self-same Church and State, without infinite inconveniences and distances, &c. I answer,

1. That differences and varieties in matters of Government, are not things so tender in any degree, as the consciences of the Saints; and therefore no reason, that Reason of State should be more tenderly respected, then these. Better a thousand men inconvenienced in their temporalls, then one righteous soul wounded in his spiritualls; yea, or then one sin committed to prevent all those inconveniences. *Una Dei gloria* (saith Calvin, a great Presbyterian) *preferri meretur centum mundis*. Yea, and one greater then Calvin (I mean the Apostle Paul) saith, (neither saith he any thing more then what an whole Christian State or Nation is bound to say) *If meat offendeth my brother, I will eat no flesh whilest the world standeth, that I may not offend my brother*, 1 Cor. 8. 13. But,

2. Whereas wee still heare of wars and rumors of wars from Presbyterianall pens, of infinite inconveniences and disturbances, and turnings of all things upside down in States, as if they should never die any other death, in case any other Government should be indured, but their own; the truth is, that such predictions (or pretences rather) as these, are but a kind of politique agents sent forth to negotiate their Cause with the ignorance and simplicity of the generality of men; who being indifferent for matter of Church-government, but of firmly-resolv'd judgements to keep themselves as far from all that which is called trouble or disturbances as possibly they can, are apt to drink in the impressions of all overtures or pretences which sound that way, as fishes drink water, and so are made Proselytes of a zealous inspiration for the Classic Consistory. *Primus in orbe Deas fecit timor*. That mixture of ignorance and feare which is commonly found in vulgar constitutions, may easily be wrought and fashion'd by a politique hand, almost into what apprehensions, and indeavours suitable, a man desireth; if his design in this kind exceed not the compasse and content of nature: for the darknesse of ignorance hath no communion at all with the kingdome of light; but being in conjunction with an awakened passion of feare, it disposeth the hearts and souls of men to receive any superstitious impressions of what shape and form soever the *intellectus agens*, or hee that worketh upon it, shall

thai desire. For my part, I am not able to calculate the least rational proportion or connexion between a variety or difference of Church-government, & the distractions, or disturbances in a State; nor can I easily beleieve, that all the Presbyterian Writers themselves, do truly & unfainedly fear any such effect from such a cause, though some peradventure may. For what if every congregation or Parish in & about *London*, had a different government, or way of ordering their Church-affairs, as they generally have somewhat (more or lesse) differing in the ordering and managing of their Vestries, or Parochiall civill affaires, the one being supposed as agreeable to the civill Lawes of the State, as the other, and each Parish respectively satisfied, and well apaid with their own government, I am not able to discern, nor cast it in my thoughts, how the peace or safety of the civill State should suffer in the least by it. But I can very easily conceive, how a State may be very probably disturbed, (and I can give instances of many that have been) by an universall compulsion of all the subjects thereof, to one and the same Religion; yea, and how by the like compulsion to one and the same Church-government. It is very strange to me that they that know (and how generally it is knowne) what variety of Churches and Church-government, yea, and professions of Religion there are, and have for a long time been in the dominion of the States of *Holland*, and withall, how pacate, flourishing, and free from disturbance this State hath been; and againe, how that not onely a forme of Church-government differing from that kinde of government which is more generally practised throughout the kingdom of *France*, but even a different Religion also, have without the least occasion of inconvenience or disturbance to the State, (yea I might say, to the great advantage and benefite of the State,) been tolerated, yea little lesse then countenanced, and that neer the very heart, & chiefe places of this Kingdom; very strange (I say) to me it is, that they that cannot lightly but know these things (besides many other instances in other States and Republicks, of like consideration) should yet pretend fears, yea certainties of I know not what *inconveniencies and disturbances to the State*, if any more Church-governments then one should take place, or be endured in it. They that shall please to peruse page 23. of the Reply of the two brethren to *A. S.* shall finde many Scriptures, of a friendly

friendly and harmlesse consistence of severall Religions (and therefore doublelesse of severall Church-governments) in the same State, besides some others. And *Lewis Osiander* in his Epitome of the Ecclesiasticall History, written by the *Magdeburgenses*, in the 6th Century, relates severall examples of successfull issues and events of such mutuall tolerations, as wee now speak of. Troubles and disturbances of States, are far more like to be the fruits and consequences of rigour and hard measure, measured out unto the Saints, then of favour or condescension unto them for their accommodation. They that think a State should *work wisely* for it self, by any hard intreaty of the servants of God, have forgotten wherefore *Pharaoh* and his great host perished together in the *red Sea*.

Whereas p. 19. he taxeth me with a default, that *I neither discover unto him what that Way is, which I there so earnestly plead for, nor produce any one text to prove it Christs own way, nor one example to warrant it, &c.* My Answer is,

Scit. 40.

1. I suppose, that an understanding man, as all men acknowledge M^r. *Prynne* to be, that prosecutes a Way with so much violence and bitternesse, as hee doth the Way there pleaded for, understandeth it all over, through and through, (and so needeth not any further discovery of it to be made unto him). Such a man (doublelesse) will take heed above all caution, of stumbling at that stone above all other, whereat the *Princes of this world* stumbled, and were broke to pieces, when they crucified the Lord of glory, before they knew who he was, 1 Cor. 2, 8.

2. I answer further, that it was no part of my design or intent in those Sermons, to justify the Way so oft there mentioned, simply, or as a Way of Christ against all contradiction; but only to justify it against those common exceptions and vulgar objections there insisted upon; and to demonstrate, that it may be *Christs own Way*, notwithstanding any thing that hath yet appeared to take away that crowne from it: and so upon this consideration, to persuade men, as they love and tender their own safety and peace, not to lay violent hands upon it, untill they should have better grounds to judge it none of *Christs Way*, then yet they had any. This being the adequate and precise tenor of my intention in that Discourse, I kept my self close to it; and so had no occasion to argue any thing (or very little) in a cataskaltrique or positive Way for it.

Sect. 41.

But because I produce nothing positively to prove the Way I plead for, (or rather, against the suppression of it) to be *Christ's own Way*, Mr. Prymme takes the courage to assault the credit and reputation of it by four Reasons or Arguments, (as hee desires to have their number thought) though the second and fourth be but one and the same; and the third, nothing but what hee had said before, and that unsuccessfully, (as was argued in the 39th Section of this Discourse) and the first, second, third and fourth, nothing to prophane the excellency, or pollute the beauty of that Cause, against which his pen is armed. But let us answer them, so far as they have not been answered already; only this one thing pre-observed, that Mr. Prymme's conscience, with the assistance of all his four Arguments, doth not yet serve him, peremptorily or simply to condemn this Way, as none of *Christ's own Way*, but only to suspect it none of his, as himself expresseth himself in the last line of pag. 19. Now being advanced no further in the confidence of his judgement against this Way, but only to suspect it for none of *Christ's*, I trust, that remembering what *Cameron* (a learned Presbyterian) saith, viz. that suspicion of falsity, was ever a calamity incident to truth, he will advance no further in his opposition to it, untill his suspicion be grown up to the stature of a perfect, cleere, and certain knowledge. This only premised, let us try whether the grounds of his jealousy it self will not shake.

Sect. 42.

To the first wee answer,

1. That whereas this Way is here charged to be a new Way, never yet heard of, in any age or Church of *Christ*, it hath been sufficiently proved by those that have written in the defence of it, that in point of Antiquity, it hath the preheminnence of its Competitress to the value of 1500 yeeres, as having been that Way of Government, wherein the Primitive Churches of *Christ*, through his gracious & wise indulgence administered unto them by his Apostles in this behalf rejoyced for the space of about 200. yeeres, as Mr. *Burton* in his Answer to Mr. Prymme's two first pieces upon this subject, lately published, clearly manifests, p. 19. and 24. (*) shewing moreover, how these Churches in time came to degenerate in point of Government, and to lose their spirituall liberties therein.

(*) Mr. *Jacob* affirmeth, that for the space of 200. or 300. yeeres after *Christ*, every visible church had power to exercise Ecclesiasticall Government, and all other Gods spirituall Ordinances (the means of salvation) in and for it self; immediatly from *Christ's* Prerogative, p. 28, 29.

2. Whereas

2. Whereas the *opposition of the generality of Magistrates, Ministers and people to this Way*, is pleaded in barre to the legitimacy and truth of it; We answer,

1. That according to the tenor of Poeticall story; *Ulysses* after twenty years absence from his house and home, was grown out of the knowledge of his friends and neighbours; yea, *Penelope* herself (his wife) knew him not at his return at first, but upon some conference and discoveries otherwise, hee became known both to the one and the other. Nor should it seem strange to any, that a Church-government, set up by the Apostles, so many hundred years since, and having for a thousand years and upwards been in exile, the rights, privileges and possessions of it seized upon, and usurped by others, should not presently at the first return of it, be acknowledged by the generality of men, no, nor by the generality of her friends themselves, I mean, godly, sober, and understanding men; whom I call her friends, because I make no question, but there lies love and friendship to her, at the root and bottom of their hearts, though there be a crust of enmity and opposition at the top, for a season. *Joseph* will in due time, make himself known unto his brethren.

2. Though numbers of those that are opposite to this *Way*, if we compute the generality of them, be *confessedly* far greater, then of those that plead for her; yet the barren begins to rejoyce, and to beare children apace; and the desolate may in time come to have more children then shee hath an husband. *John Baptist* had many more Disciples and followers at first, then Christ himself; yet ingenuously subscribed to the dignity of Christ above himself, saying, *He must increase, but I must decrease*, Joh. 3. 30.

3. The judgements both of Magistrates and common people, concerning this *Way*, depending chiefly (if not solely) upon the judgements of Ministers, it is the lesse strange, that there should be found such a grand concurrence in the judgements of both against it, especially for a time. There are these twelve Reasons (among others) why the judgements of Ministers especially may, according to the course of humane affairs in other like cases, stand off at some distance from this Government, for a season.

First, their judgements have for a long time conversed familiarly with another, and that with approbation and contentment; by

means whereof there is a kinde of a pleasing sympathy, or conaturalnesse growne between them; which is such a conveniencie or accommodation, that nature will not suddenly quit or lose, nor without good consideration: *No man* (saith our Saviour) *that hath drunk old wine, straightway desireth new; for he saith, the old is better,* Luke 5. 39.

Secondly, godly Ministers (more generally) stand publicly declared in their judgements for another Government. And how hard a thing is it, even for good men (in the Philosophers phrase) *in causa suspecti*, to do execution upon their own tenets and opinions, especially when they have own'd them in the sight of the world? The casting out of his son *Ismael*, is said to have been a thing very grievous in *Abrahams* sight, notwithstanding he had the advantage of the expresse Commandement of God upon him, to make it easie, *Gen.* 21. 11. It is confessed, that this, (haply with some others of the Reasons following) beares as hard against some Independents in their adhesion unto, and stiff-standing by their Way, as it doth against Presbyterians in their resolvednesse for theirs. But this rather confirms, then any way infeeble, the argumentative authority of it for that probation, which it undertakes.

Thirdly, many Ministers conceive, that if they shall pull out but one stone out of their building, though never so ill laid, they shall shake the foundations of the whole fabrique, and that in case themselves should begin with any one of those Doctrines, wch they have taught, to disclaim it, the people will follow their example herein, and do the like by all the rest. Whereas on the contrary, the truth is, that to separate the vile from the precious, is to raise the honour and esteem of that which is precious; and the cancelling of some things, which a man hath taught, as erroneous, is an high confirmation of all the rest; according to that Schoole maxime, *Excepit firmat regulam in non exceptis*.

Fourthly, many by being declaredly ingag'd for such or such an opinion, have fared the better for it, either in their credits and reputations, or otherwise; yea, and haply at unawares, have gained deep interest and honour with persons of name and prime respects in the world, by means of a co-ingagement in the same opinion with them. Now as our Saviour saith, ^(*) *there is no man that*

(*) Mar. 9. 39.

shall doe a miracle in my name, that can lightly speake evill of me; No more will men easily be brought to make refuse or untruff of any such opinion, which hath been, and still continues, such a Benefactresse unto them. Ministers may truly say in such cases, *Beneficium accipi, libertatem vendidisti*. by receiving a benefit, I have sold my liberty.

Fifthly, many are not able to be baptized with the baptisme where with Paul was baptized, *Act. 17. 18.* where he was charged to bee a setter forth of new Gods: they are not able to beare the reproach of being teachers of new doctrines; of being charged with whimsies and Independent Crotchets, of trading in Apes and Peacocks, &c. and so resolve to hold on in such a way, wherein though they may meet with some reproofes, yet they are sure of farre more with them, then they can feare being against them.

Sixthly, some think it a point of humility to build upon other mens foundations, and feare they should pollute the memories and honour of Calvin, Beza, and other famous lights in the Church of God, if they should recede from their principles in the least.

Seventhly, some have *lesion principium*, a maimed principle of seeing any thing that is new, except they see it first, cannot stoop so low as to carry any mans honor after him, (especially that converseth upon the earth with him: *Pascitur in vivis livor*;) nor yet so farre disparage their own parts and abilities, as to judge any thing which is of a new discovery, to be Truth, except they see some wayes or other interessed in the discovery of it. *Ingenio qui vult cedere, rariis erit.* There is a notion (unsound as it seems to me) of a kind of knowledge supposed to be in God, ^a called *Scientia media*, lately started amongst the Schoolmen: and how doe the great masters of that learning, contend amongst themselves for the primacie of that invention? *Fonseca* stands up, and tells the world, ^b that he was the first that observed it amongst his *Comimbrians*. Nay rather (saith *Molina*) I am he that first discovered it amongst my *Eborans*. In comes *Lessius* from amongst his *Lovanians*, and takes away this Crown from them both, and sets it upon his own brain.

Eighthly, some are of opinion, that matters of truth in point of Church-government, are neither too great nor too good, to be sacrificed upon the service of peace; though *Luthers* saying was, that

a Mr. Prynne.
full Replies.
p 74.
b M. Edwards
Antapod.
p 261.

a Twiss de Scientia med.
b Ego (inquit Fonseca) in Academia Comimbrensi, hoc primus observavi. Imo potius ego (clamat Molina) apud Eboresenses meos. His non cedit Leonardus Lessius Lovaniensis, & suo cerebro, de eodem partu ambrosè gratulatur. Prid. Lect. 2. de Scient. med.

that *unus apex verbi*, major est coelo & terra : i. the least rittle, or poyn of the word of God, is greater then heaven, and earth.

Ninthly, some are more addicted to *Authors* then *Arguments*, for the furnishing of their judgements, and regulating their consciences in matters of Religion : and then it is no marvell if these make *Silver and Gold* of the Presbyteriall, and *Hey and Stubble* of the Congregationall way ; though it bee true also on the other hand, that in very many Authors, and those of Classique authority, both ancient and modern, there are *manifesta rota vestigia cernendi*, manifest prints and footsteps of this way ^a.

^a See Sions prerogative, almost throughout.

Tenthly, the Congregationall way puts Ministers upon a more immediate dependence upon God and his providence for matter of maintenance and outward accomodation : and how few are there but had rather see, then beleewe ? have the knowne Lawes of a State, then the unknowne purposes and decrees of heaven, the vouchers of their livelihood and supports to such a proportion or degree ?

Eleventhly, (some it's like) are afraid lest the wrath and discontent of the generality of the people of the Land, should evince the error and untruth of the *Congregationall way*, by offering violence to those that shall hold it forth in practice ; and so chuse rather to build upon the peoples generall acceptation of the Presbyterian way (which they cannot much question) as an unquestionable demonstration of the truth and goodnesse thereof.

Twelfthly (and lastly) others (probably) are jealous, and foresee, that they shall not be able to give that quarter of contentment to many great persons, and men in place of authority, in the *Congregationall way*, which they know they may in the Presbyterian. Yea, they cannot lightly but foresee, that in the practice of the *Congregationall way*, they shall (in all likelihood and without the gracious hand of God preventing) contract the odium and ill will of many great ones, who under God have power to grind their faces, and break their bones. And who will be willing to study and take pains, and be earnest with God in prayer night and day, for the conviction of such a Truth, which being discovered, will either expose a man to all that danger of hardship and misery in the world, which we speak of, or else doe him a worse displeasure thereto, by tormenting his conscience, in case he shall refuse to be so exposed ?

These

These with many other like reasons there are, why Ministers (rather then others) may more generally incline to fall in rather with the Presbyterian, then the Congregational way (and consequently why Magistrates and people, who see much by their eyes, should fall in also) and yet such a constellation no signe from heaven, but onely from the earth, (the element made to be trampled under foot) of the truth & righteousness of that Way. But that I may not be mistaken, nor leave the least touch or tast of offence in the mind of any man, by occasion of the reasons insisted upon, I solemnly professe, as in the presence of God, that I intend no ill reflection upon any of my brethren in the Ministry, who are contrary minded to me in point of Church-government, as such in any of them; nor to insinuate as if they, either *divisim* or *conjunctim*, were swayed in their judgements by any of the said motives in the present controversie: but to demonstrate against my Antagonist, that such tentations are very incident to the nature of man; yea, even when it is under the best accomplishments of nature, industry & grace it self: and consequently, that his argument drawne, *A multitudine taliter sentientium*, is of little force. I freely acknowledge, that Ministers very possibly may have (yea I verily beleeve that many have) the Presbyterian way in their hearts, who never consulted with any of those Oracles about the bringing of it in thither: and that many of this judgement are as candid, free, unspotted, and untouched by any of those respects, in their way, as many who imbrace the Congregational way, are in theirs. Yet

4. I must answer this one thing further to my *Repliers* Argument, that the testimony of a few godly persons, having little or nothing of this world to accommodate their judgements, but a thousand things to distance and distaste them, is in reasonableness and fairness of construction, of more consideration for the averment of a truth, then the judgement of many who have the Sunne, Moone, and twelve Starres to give light unto them, I mean all or most of this worlds endowments to confirme them.

5. (And lastly) the known case happening at the Council of Nice between *Paphnutius* and the rest of the learned members thereof, with that of *Athanasius* opposing (in a manner) the whole Christian world now turned *Arrian*, with some others of like consideration that might be added, have broke the heart of that

Topique

Topique place, *Quod pluribus videtur*, &c. and made it void and invalid for ever.

To his second Argument, which (it seemes) strengthens the hand of his great jealousie against the Congregationall cause, I answer.

First, I am unduly and untruly charged, to *acknowledge the Congregationall government set up by a few private men, against the Authority and commands of the Parliament, &c.* I no where mention any *Authority or command of Parliament* declared against this *Way*; neither indeed doe I know any to this houre. Nor doe I either hope or feare to live to that day, wherein private men may not both feare God, and obey Jesus Christ, without offending *against the authority and commands of Parliament.* But this charge being hard to find in my discourse, and he that affirms it, being desirous to make it as hard to answer or disprove, he takes field-room enough for his reference, and in his Margine bids us (in effect) looke from page 30. to 52. telling us, that if we look narrowly enough, we shall find it somewhere within that circuit, though himselfe (it seems) knowes not well where.

2. Nor do I any where, either *tacitly or vocally acknowledge* that this way, *not onely denies, but oppugnes the temporall Magistrats, Parliaments, Synods, directions or coercive power in Ecclesiastical affairs.* If any man of this way doth *denie*, much more if hee *oppugne* either the one or the other, it is not necessary that he should doe either, as a Son of this *Way*, nor by any influence of those grounds and principles upon which this *Way* is built. But I verily beleeve, that Mr. Erynne never knew any man of this *Way*, that ever *denied*, much lesse *oppugned* any *directions* whether from *Parliaments* or *Synods*, (or from farre meaner hands then either of these) unless they saw or apprehended them contrary to the mind and will of God in the Scriptures; in which case I have that Christian and honourable opinion of the author of this charge, that he would *deny* them himselfe. What he meanes by the word *oppugning*, in such an emphaticall opposition to a *denying*, is none of my understanding. If he meanes onely a pleading or an arguing *in opposition*, I conceive it no wayes opposite unto, but of a just and necessary concurrence with a *deniall*. For he that *denies* any thing affirmed by another, is bound to, (or at least very lawfully may) give a reason

reason of that his deniall; which must needs be an *oppugning* (in this sense) of the others assertion. If by *oppugning*, he means, an opposing or resisting by force, the charge is a most unworthy and unchristian slander. I no where give the least intimation that the *way* I plead for in any of her principles or maxims, thus *oppugneth* either *Parliaments* or *Synods*, either in their *directions*, or in the exercise of any *coercive power*. As for a *coercive power* in *Synods*, I think Mr. Prymnes *way* denies, if not *oppugns*, it, as well as mine. And to gratifie the Civill Magistrate with such a *power* as this, in matters of Religion, denying him withall any *Directive power* for the ordering and government of it (which is the bountie of the *Presbyterian way* to the Civill Magistrate^(*)) is no such eminency of desert at his hand, above what the *Congregational way* doth willingly and chearfully leave unto him. The understanding and reason of a man, is certainly better then the strength of an Elephant, or a Lyon.

3. I absolutely deny, that Mr. Prymne hath either *largely*, or contractedly *proved*, either by *many Texts*, or any *Texts*, either in his *Independencie examined*, or in any other of his writings whatsoever, whether *examined* or *unexamined* the deniall of any such *coercive power*, either in *Parliaments* or *Synods*, to be either *directly* or *indirectly contrary* to the *Scriptures*, which either the *Congregational way*, or any Patron or friend of this way, that I know of, have *denied*, or doe *deny* unto either. And whereas his page boasts of his *large prooffe* hereof by *many Texts*, and by this finger (o) points us to his margent, as if that would justifie and make good this boasting; the honest margent, as conscious to the vanitie thereof, refuseth to say any thing at all, jot or tittle, to it.

4. Whereas he pleads, that *Paul himselfe even in matters of Religion* pleaded his cause before *Festus, Felix, and King Agrippa*, all this is granted in point of *Truth*, but absolutely denied in point of *pertinencie* to his purpose. If *Independents* be brought before *Kings* and *Rulers* for *Christs sake*, or for their conscience sake, it is their wise course (and that which well becomes them, yea, and that which they would doe, if so brought) to plead their cause before them as well as they can, as *Paul* did before *Festus, &c.* But though *Paul* was a chosen vessel of *Christ* to carry his Name before *Kings*, yet they were chosen vessels of *Satan*, who compell'd or brought him before

(a) The Civill Magistrate arrogates not to himselfe any directive power in matters of Religion. A.S. in his Observ. & Annot. p. 5. And againe, p. 7. To grant them such a power (viz. of judging questions in debate between the two parties in the Assembly, speaking of the Parliament) were nothing else but to joyne your selves with the *Arminians*, &c.

* Act. 9. 15.

Kings to answer for his life, because he preach'd and practis'd the doctrine of Christ, notwithstanding he alwayes carried the Name of Christ with him, whensoever he was brought before them. Nor doth his *pleading his cause before Festus, &c.* any whit more prove that Festus had a lawfull coercive power in matters of Religion, then James his being skaine by Herods sword, or Christs being crucified by Pilates power, prove that Civill Magistrates have a lawfull power to sentence the faithfullest and most innocent men unto death. As for Pauls *appeale unto Caesar*, (an Heathen Emperour) can we blame him for it, when as he hop'd to find more equall and faire proceedings before him, then at the Judicatories of inferior Judges? If Mr. Pryme will accept or interpret, either the *pleading of our cause before a Civill Magistracy* when we are brought before it, or an appealing from an inferior Civill Judicatory when we feele or feare injustice, to a Superior, or an acknowledgement of a lawfull power in the Civill Magistrate to restrain the violence and unjust proceedings and practises of men against us; if (I say) he will interpret any, or all these, to be an acknowledgement of a *Coercive power in the Civill Magistrate, in Ecclesiasticall affaires*, there is an end of this strife between us; we will all readily subscribe, that such a coercive power as this in matters of Religion and Ecclesiasticall affaires, is the undoubted priviledge of the Civill Magistrate, and of right belongs unto him.

5. Wee freely likewise subscribe unto those injunctions of the Apostle, where he enjoyns all Christians to pray, even for heathen Kings, Magistrates, and to submit to all their lawfull commands for conscience sake; yea, and are heartily sorry that any such commands should at any time proceed from Kings, Magistrates, whether Heathen or Christian, unto which we cannot submit with a good conscience, and for conscience sake; but are necessitated even for conscience sake to decline them. Onely we question, whether Kings, Magistrates, Heathen or Christian, have any power from God, to punish good and godly men, for declining such commands of theirs for conscience sake, which they cannot for conscience sake submit unto.

6. For those Princes and Magistrates who were long since predicted to become nursing Fathers to the Church under the Gospel, we wish them all Christian care, tenderneffe, and compassion, according to the nature and tenor of this so honourable a service and imployment,

so long since by prophetic from God assign'd and recommended unto them. But whether it be proper for those, that desire to be look'd upon as *nursing Fathers of the Church*, to sacrifice the peace and comfort of one part of the children of the Church upon the service of the wills or humors of another part of them, I leave to *nursing mothers*, who have twins of their womb hanging upon their breasts, to judge and determine.

7. And lastly, for the *good and wholesome Laws enacted by Cyrus, Artaxerxes, Darius, &c. for the worship of God, &c.* We gave (I trust) a *good and wholesome answer* in the former part of this discourse, published some weeks since. Wee freely grant a power, yea, and more then a power, a necessitie by way of dutie, in *Kings, Magistrates, to further the honour and service of the true God, and his people in the worship of him.* It is onely a power of discouraging *his people*, of interrupting and hindring their peace and comfort in the *worship and service of the true God*, which we conceive incompatible unto Magistracie, as any gift or donation setled upon it by God.

His third Argument or ground of jealousie against the *way* of his great Constellation, is, that *it appears to be a way that will breed infinite confusions, disorders, by confounding the bounds of Parishes, &c.* We answer

Sect. 44.

1. That Physicians seldome complain of sickly times; nor Millers of those that bring griest to their mills. The old saying was, *De morbo gaudet medicus.* It is strange to me that Mr. Prynne should thus prevaricate with his profession. But it may be this argument is figurative, and cat-anthrophrastricall: And so, by *confusions, disorders, &c.* he means, peace, unitie and concord amongst men, whereby *confusions, disorders*, and consequently suits at Law, will be prevented and cut off. And the truth is that such peace, unitie, and concord amongst men, whereby such unchristian mischiefs and miseries as these, may in ordinary way of providence be prevented, is the genuine and naturall product of this *way*, and a fruit that is daily gathered from it by many.

2. Whereas he chargeth this *way*, with *confounding the bounds of Parishes*, and in his margin cites p. 38. to 40. of my two Sermons, for the justification of this charge; the truth is, that both charge and justification may go together, and serve in the Forlorne hope, having neither reason nor truth to second either. For 1. the *way*

he speaks of, intermeddles not with, offers no violence to the *bounds of Parishes*: onely it thinks it equall that the *bounds of Parishes* should not offer violence, or be *houses of bondage* unto the consciences of the Saints, nor be as barres of iron against them in the way of their comfort, and spirituall edification. 2. Whereas I am sub-pena'd for a witness against this *way*, touching the crime objected, I meane of trespassing upon the *bounds of Parishes*. My answer is, that the printed copie of those Sermons of mine, which I have, hath *ne quidem*, either in *pag.* 38, 39, or 40. of any such matter: nor hath it any where else, any page, passage, sentence, line, word, syllable, letter, point, or tittle, amounting to the import of such a charge.

3. Whereas his pen spits this black reproach in the face of *Independencie*, that it is a *Government inconsistent with Royaltie and the civill Government*; My answer is, that look in what degree this accusation and charge would be weighty and fore, in case it could be prov'd; in the same degree it is light and contemptible, through a deficiency of all, and all manner of prooffe, or colour of prooffe, whatsoever. The Roman Empire lost nothing of her beautie, strength, or interest, by the Churches of Christ practising this Government in severall places within the bounds and territories of it. If it sustained losse in any of these, by occasion of this Government, it was not because of their toleration of, but their opposition to it.

4. Nor is this charge, that it giveth way to every sect to choose *Ministers*, erect *Churches of their owne without controule*, of any better commendation in point of truth, then the former. For it giveth way to no sect whatsoever *without controule*; it reproves, oppugns, censures, and condemns sects and sectaries of all sorts; so far is it from granting allowance to them, to choose *Ministers*, and erect *Churches*, *without controule*. Indeed it knows no authoritie or commission which it hath from God, to countenance the *controulement* of the civill sword against such persons, who in the simplicitie (not convicted obduracy) of their hearts, are misled in matters of Religion: it trembles to make misprisions in things of that difficult, high, and rare attainment, as the acknowledgement of supernaturall truth is in matters of Religion, and the things of God; to be matter either of confiscation of goods, imprisonment, banishment, death, unto men: though it denies not a power of restraint from
 opposing

opposing the received faith, with publick disturbance and offence.

5. Whereas in Answer to somewhat argued by me to make the innocency of *Independencie* touching matter of *Divisions*, as clear as the noone day, he repones thus; That those who in point of conscience cannot communicate or agree together in one Church, will never questionlesse accord well together in one familie, bed, Parish, Kingdome, as experience manifests; I answer,

1. That experience manifests the quite contrary. How many Ministers of the *Presbyteri* in judgement are there in the Kingdome, yea, in and about the Citie, that hold communion in all deare and Christian respects, and terms of love and friendship, with many called *Independent*, and these againe with them? The difference in judgement between them in point of Church-Government, in some rather increasing, then diminishing or dissolving their familiarity and acquaintance. How oft doth Mr. *Edwards* himself in his *Antapologie*, acknowledge his Apologists to be dearly and deeply interested in the love and care of many of his judgement (a)? Yea, he commends his own love and affections towards them, once and twice and the third time also (b). How many families are there in and about the Citie, wherein the respective members enjoy themselves together with much Christian sweetnesse and peace, notwithstanding relations to severall Pastors & Churches among them? I had it from a person worthy credit in a greater matter, that a friend of his (a man also very well knowne to my self, and knowne for a man both of honesty and understanding) related to him; how that having but foure persons in his familie, (himself being one of the foure) and every of these constantly repairing to a different Congregation and Ministry, yet liv'd very peaceably, comfortably, and contentedly together in the same house. Yea, and that he moreover added; that except he should grant this libertie to the rest respectively, he could not expect that good accord and agreement with them and between them in his family, which now he found.

Yea, 2. *Experience manifests* yet more then this; viz. that not onely persons dissenting in point of Church-Government, being otherwise united in the profession of the same pure, Orthodox and unfeigned Religion; but that persons dissenting in the very substantialls

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stantialls of their respective Religions, doe lovingly and peaceably combine and live together, not onely in the same State or Kingdome, but even in the same Citie, yea, in the same street or neighbourhood; and are mutually helpiull and serviceable one to another in all matters of civill courtesie, often meet, eat and drink together; yea, and are all of one heart and of one mind, in promoting and maintaining the peace and safety of the State where they live. I have received every whit as much as this in report from persons of good esteem and worth, who have been ey-witnesses and diligent observers of such things, both in the *Low-Countries* and in *France*.

Yea, 3. (that which is yet more then all this) the Scripture it self implies, that persons, not onely distanced in their judgements about Church-Government, but about the God-head of Christ, and truth of the true and Christian Religion, may not onely accord and agree together in one and the same State, as *Abram* and his people did with the *Amorites*, Gen. 14. 13. with the *Philistines* at *Gerar*, Gen. 20. 1. with the *Egyptians*, Gen. 12. 10. &c. Christians with Pagan Idolaters, 1 Cor. 10. 27. but in the one and the same familie, yea, and bed also, 1 Cor. 7. 12, 13. 1 Pet. 3. 1. &c.

4. And lastly, Not onely experience, but even Reason it self manifests, that those who cannot in point of conscience communicate and agree together in one Church, may yet very well accord together, in one familie, bed, Parish, Kingdome: yea, evident it is, that they, who cannot in point of conscience agree together in one Church, cannot possibly (or lightly at least) but agree together in familie, Parish, bed, Kingdome. For if it be conscience that sets them at a distance in matter of Church-government, it must needs unite them in the performance of all such duties, which are cleerly and manifestly such. He that out of conscience abstains from any practise, as not being satisfied in his judgement touching the lawfulness thereof; cannot but be ready and willing to practise every such dutie, of the necessitie whereof he stands convinced, either by the light of nature, or by the Word of God; Conscience being unpartiall between the negative and the affirmative, and equally respecting its own comfort and peace in both. Now it is no wayes probable, (if possible) that such as are truly conscientious in point of Church-Government, should be ignorant of such duties required of them by God in the four mentioned

mentioned relations, *family, parish, bed, kingdome*, the practise and performance whereof will strongly and sweetly unite and accord them in the said Relations, respectively. All these things considered, I cannot wonder a little, that the Gendeman, who makes so many *Questions*, should make that *Questionlesse* in the negative, which is so palpably plain and *questionlesse* in the affirmative. But

6. Whereas I onely argue and demonstrate, that the repairing of persons out of severall Parishes to one and the same Ministry or Pastor, needs be no more trouble or disturbance, then the like repair of persons of the respective Companies in London, to one and the same Hall; he represents this demonstration of mine, as if I thereby intended to prove or justify the Congregationall Government simply, and accordingly insists upon 3 differences between the one and the other. I know nothing but that he might easily have found out not onely 3, but 23 differences, and have argued them all with as much pertinencie to his purpose, as he hath done the three. For we do not urge the analogie of the Government of Companies or Corporations in all the relations or appurtenances belonging to it, as any ground or proof of the Congregationall Government; we are better provided in this kind, then so: we onely urge the particular mentioned, to accommodate and heal the pretended offensivenesse in the like, in this Government. Notwithstanding let us briefly see what advantage he hath gotten against the Independent way, by his 3 great differences found between severall Trades and Halls in one Citie, Parish, Kingdom, and severall forms of Church-Government. As to the first we answer.

1. That it is not so without dispute, as he makes it, whether all Trades, Societies, hold one another lawfull, usefull, necessarie, agreeable to the Lawes of God, and the Realme. I know both some Trades, yea and some Societies too in London, much questioned upon all, or most of these particulars. But passe we this. Whereas he infers upon it, that so they breed no contrarietie of opinions or disaffections, &c. We answer.

2. That certainly experience doth not manifest this. Contentions, differences, disaffections, yea and Law-suits sometimes betwene Trades and Trades, Societies and Societies, are known occurrences in and about the Citie. Whereas he adds: that each different Church deems the other unlawfull, so as they cannot with safe conscience

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joyn or communicate together, and thereupon sever one from another; We answer.

3. That according to Mr. Prynnes notion of Church-Government, it is not necessarie that each different Church should judge the other *unlawfull*, &c. because he supposeth, that the Scripture is so indulgent in this behalf, as to leave roome enough for variety of forms of this Government. So that if he will but give others leave to be of his judgement, this reasoning of his falls to the ground. But

Fourthly (and lastly) Though each different Church do deem the other *unlawfull*, and so cannot with safe conscience communicate together in Church-ship; yet this hinders not, but that they may judge and think as well one of anothers persons (and consequently love and affect one another, and combine together as affectionately,) as persons of severall Trades and Societies do; who have no more communion together in their respective Trades, then different Churches have in their respective Churches; yea, there is far better ground (as hath been partly touched already) why different Churches, though they deem each other *unlawfull*, should yet think better of, yea and love the respective members each of other, then there is, that persons of severall Trades, or members of severall civil Societies, should do either the one or the other among themselves.

Seet. 45.

To his second difference, I answer,

1. That experience manifests the contrary to what he here affirms, *viz.* that the subordination or subjection of severall Trades, Societies, to the whole Corporation, Parliament, or supreme Magistrate, doth not keep them all in peace and unitie. What contentions, quarrels, emulations, suits amongst them from day to day, any such subordination or subjection notwithstanding?

2. Whereas by way of opposition he addes, that Independent Churches will be regulated, obliged onely by their own peculiar edicts, which must needs occasion infinite schismes and disorders; We answer.

1. We wish that by way of commendation and praise in many cases, to Parliaments, temporall Magistrates, and Synods, which is here cast upon Independent Churches by way of imputation and charge, I mean regulation and obligation by their own peculiar edicts. But

2. Where-

2. Whereas the charge is thus laid against these Churches, that they will be regulated, obliged *onely by their own peculiar Edicts*; the truth is, that they are every whit as willing to be regulated, obliged, by the Edicts of any other, as *by their own*, alwayes provided that they be conform to the Word, and this conformitie sufficiently proved and made known unto them. They put no difference at all between the mind of Christ presented unto them by others, or discovered and found out by themselves. Yea and that *subordination and subjection* which they all professe and own to the written word of God, is a farre more effectuall and hopefull means, to keep them all in peace and unitie, then that *subordination* mentioned by Mr. Prynne, is to keep all Trades and Societies in the same precious posture. Onely in this one thing these poore Independent Churches desire Parliaments and Magistrates and Synods to be mercifull unto them, that they cannot write any of them, infallible, nor yet subscribe unto any their injunctions or decisions in matters of Faith, or which concern the worship and service of God, without retaining the Scriptures for their Counsell, and advising with them what to do therein.

To his third and last difference also, we answer.

Self. 46.

1. That he saith very well, in point of truth, when he saith, that *Christians, as Christians, are all of one and the self same society and profession, as those of one trade and calling are*. But this truth as yet, is not at all conscious to his intention or purpose. Therefore he addes: *therefore they should all have but one Church and Government, as these trades have*. Nor doth this, if granted, make any whit more for the Presbyterian cause, then for the Independent: because it doth not follow; *Christians, as Christians, ought all to have one and the same Church and Government: therefore this Church and Government ought to be Presbyterian*. Take a parallel: *Simon and Levi* ought to have been Brethren: therefore they ought to have been Brethren in iniquitie. Take another: *Ananias and Sapphira*, being man and wife, ought to have agreed together: therefore they ought to have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord. But

2. If by his *one Church*, he means, one and the same Catholique, mysticall, and invisible Church; We answer, that *Christians, as Christians*, have all *one* and the same Church; in this sense, they are all members of this *one Church*. But if he means, *one* and the same

ministeriall and visible *Church*, we answer, by demanding, How can this thing be? We have heard indeed of some Oecumenicall Councils; but of Oecumenicall visible Churches, wherein all *Christians* should be comprehended as members, I beleeve there hath been Oecumenicall silence unto this day.

3. Whereas he goeth about to *set the comparison* (of his own making) *upright*, by stating it thus: If some of one Fraternitie in London (suppose Merchant-tailors, Saddlers, &c.) should fall out among themselves, and one would have one form of Government, another another, and thereupon divide themselves into severall conventicles and petty meetings in corners, not at their common Hall, and one chuse one Government or Master, another another, and so sever the Company, and continue Independent, this (no doubt) would prove an apparent schisme and seminary of infinite divisions, to the distraction, destruction of the whole Company and Fraternitie; and then addes, This is the true State of your Independencie: We answer, that the comparison thus stated holds no proportion or correspondence with the State of Independencie. For,

1. That number of Christians which pleads for *Independencie* (so called) is not the whole Societie of Christians (nor indeed any considerable part thereof, in respect of number) as that Fraternitie of Merchant-tailors or Saddlers the comparison speaks of, is therein supposed to be the whole Societie of such a Company. Therefore to set Mr. Prymms comparison upright, and make it agree with the State of Independencie, in this particular, it must be stated thus; Suppose two or three members of a numerous and vast companie, consisting (it may be) of ten or twenty thousand persons, should differ from the rest of the Societie in some things about their Government, and hereupon should withdraw themselves from that Society, and seek incorporation elsewhere; would such a dissent or withdrawing of so few from amongst so many, any waies threaten the distraction, much lesse the destruction of the whole Company?

2. Suppose a considerable part of a Company, should out of a conscientious dislike of the carriage of things in the Government of the body withdraw themselves, and refuse subjection to this Government so ordered and administred; though in probability this act of theirs may occasion some distraction or disturbance in the rest of the body for a season; yet supposing it done upon substantiall

tiall and due grounds, it may be so farre from bringing destruction to this body, that very possibly it may occasion the Reformation and amendment of those things that were unjust in this Government, (and consequently destructive to the bodie) and so become a means of the preservation of it from destruction. And this is the true state of our Independencie.

3. In case the Fraternity of Merchant-taylors in London should fall out amongst themselves, and one would have one form of Government, and another another, and thereupon divide themselves, &c. What ever inconvenience should, or might hereupon ensue to the Company, yet still it was determined by equall and prudent Judges, who, or which partie gave the chief occasion of these distractions and rents; there is no reason why any one partie should fall foule upon all the rest, and give an extrajudiciall sentence for themselves. For any thing that God hath yet determined to the contrary, the Independent partie of Christians in the Kingdom, may be as innocent (yea more innocent) of the breaches and distractions amongst us in point of Church Government, then the Presbyterian. They that call and plead for that Government which is held forth in the Scriptures, calling and pleading for it in a regular, meek and Christian manner, are those that are innocent; and those that call and plead for any other, or indeed for any in a violent, preposterous, and unchristian manner, (light the stroke where it will) are those that are guiltie. I confess that in one respect, and that of very great consequence, I could really wish that the beam were in the eye of Independencie, and the moat in the eye of Presbyterie; because in this case it would (I conceive) be the sooner and the more easily plucked out. For as *Austin* said long since: *Virium quod inebriat multitudinem, examinis amittit veritatem*. A sin or error that hath taken the heads and hearts of a multitude, is hardly curable ^(a). An error in a few, is but as smoke; it may be approach'd unto, handled, and dealt with, without danger: but in many it becomes a flame of fire; and he that attempts the quenching of it, had need pacifie himselfe, as men at Sea do, when they see the breakings of Leviathan, and look for nothing but present death. *Job 41. 25.*

4. In case any parcell or lesse number of the Company of Merchant-taylors in London, could not with a good conscience continue their

(a) *Gravis enim est, & periculosus error in plurimis: & multorum lapsus, etiamsi se intelligat, exurgendi pudore, auctoritatem sibi presumit, ex numero habens hoc impudentie, ut quod errat, intelligentiam esse veritatis afferat, dum minus erroris esse existimatur in multis.* *Mil. 46.*

their union and incorporation with the Societie, apprehending some things sinfull amongst them, of the sinfulness whereof they conceive an unavoidable necessitie that themselves must be partakers, whilst they continue their relation to the Company, the rest of the Company all this while resenting no evil in the things stumbled at by those other, and so are able to keep on their way without scruple; in this case it is so farre from being a thing destructive to this *Company*, that the partie so scrupul'd, should withdraw, that it is the best accommodation, things standing as they do, whereof they are capable; it being certain that no Company or Societie whatsoever but suffers losse and disadvantage by union and communion with such members, who walk with gainesaying judgements, and polluted consciences with them. And this also is the true State of *Independencie*. The Great Communitie and Societie of Christians in the Kingdom, suffer farre lesse by the Independents withdrawing of themselves from the Presbyterian Government, their judgements in this point standing as they do, then they would by their joyning with them therein. Their joyning with them under the reclamation of their judgements and consciences, would disaccommodate both parties; whereas their refusal in this kind, convenienceth both; and so hath the true character of a legitimate contract or bargain between man and man, which still ought to be so conditioned, that both parties may be bettered in their conditions by it. Therefore Mr. *Prynne* hath not set the comparison upright to the point in hand.

5. And lastly, There is no arguing in Divinitie, either from conveniences or inconveniences, from disturbances or from peace, from life or from death, against the necessitie of avoiding sin, and keeping a good and a cleere conscience towards God. Therefore supposing that the *Company of Merchant-tailors in London*, would by such fractions and divisions amongst the members thereof, as are presented in Mr. *Prynnes* comparison, be in danger of ruine and dissolution; yet better were it that this ruine & dissolution should come upon it, then that God should be dishonoured by the least sin, or the meanest soule endangered, for the preservation of it (*). In like manner, it is more agreeable to the mind of God, and to all principles of Christianity, that even the greatest numbers and multitudes of Christians should rather suffer, though very deep,

(a) Cum tur-
pis est medici-
na, sanari pu-
deat.

in their externall conveniences, then that the least sin should be committed by the meanest of them, for their accomodation. And this likewise is *the true state* of things between our *Independency*, and Mr. Prynnes *Presbyterie*. Many other particulars there are, wherein it might be made further to appeare, how ill his *compari-son* comports with the case and state of *Independencie*: but enough (as the Proverb saith) *is as good as a feast*.

To what he subjoyns concerning *my present case in my own Parish*, miserably divided, disordered by my *Independent way*, &c. I have answered in part in my *Innocencies Triumph*. I here adde

Señ. 47.

1. That my *Parish* is no otherwise divided, disordered, by my *Independent way*, then the world commonly is by the Gospel, when it cometh in power amongst the inhabitants thereof. Think not (saith our Saviour) *that I am come to send peace on Earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his Father, and the daughter against the mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law: And a mans foes shall be they of his owne household*, Mat. 10. 34, 35, 36.

2. It was not my *Independent way*, (as Mr. Prynne affirmeth) but the opposition to it, that caused those divisions, disorders, (if any such be) in my *Parish*: If the partie which now opposeth, had been willing, either to have complied with him whom they acknowledged for their Pastor, and the rest of their Brethren, who submitted themselves unto him in this way; or else patiently to have waited upon God, untill he should please to reveale the goodnesse of the way unto them, in case they saw no sufficient ground at the present, for their submission in this kind (as many of the best of them have done hitherto:) there had been no place for any *division or disorder* amongst them. And whether it be not more fitting, for a people to follow their Pastor, giving them substantiall grounds and reasons for that way wherein he desires to lead them; then for a Pastor to follow his people in such a way, whereof they neither give, nor (I verily beleeve) can give, any account like men, I leave to Mr. Prynne, and all unpartiall Judges, to determine.

3. (And lastly) Nothing is more regular, or of more constant observation in all ages, then for troubles, commotions, and disturbances, to attend for a while, any considerable mutation or change, especially, for the better, either made, or attempted to be made,

in

(a) *Postmodò
satis cōdide fū-
cū, tū mīdī-
ose cōmemorat,
quātas turbas,
tumultus, con-
tentiones scū
traxer. nostra
Doctrīne prae-
dicatio, et quos
nunc in multis
fructū gerat. Nū
borū malorum
culpa, malignē in
ipsa derivatur,
quae in Satane
militia torque-
ri debuerat.*

*Et mox: Hec
certissima et im-
primis fideliū no-
ta, quā discer-
tur (verbi a vi-
nū) à mendacib⁹
Doctrīnā, quae
se facile produ-
tum equis om-
niū aurib⁹ re-
cipiuntur, & à
mūdo plaudē-
te audiuntur.*

(b) *Lutherus
velut mūm
Eridia mīst in
mūdum, cuius
nullam omnino
partē non tur-
batā video. E-
vasm. l. 14. ep. 7.*

(c) *Pios hoc no-
men & titulum
in mūdo oportet
gerere, quod
seditiosae schis-
matici ac infi-
mōrū malorū
auctores sunt
Luth. in Gal. 5.*

in any State or Societie of men whatsoever. Calvin in his Preface before his *Institutions*, dedicated to the King of France, complains (a) of the indirect and unworthy dealings of his adversaries, who charged the preaching of the Doctrine of the Gospel, with being the cause of I know not what troubles, tumults, and contentions; Where as such things as these, should have been charged upon the Militia or Agents of the Devil. And then adds this memorable saying: *Est hic divini verbi quidam quasi genius, ut nunquam emergat, quieto ac dormiente Satana: It is (as it were) the lot and destinie of the word of God, never to find Satan in a good mood, or asleep, when it comes abroad into the world: in the following words, making this a most certaine and faithfull mark or signe, whereby it is discern'd from false Doctrines, which (saith he) soone bewray themselves by this, that the world applauds them in the hearing, and gives them intertainment in a posture of fairnesse, favour, and peace. What storms, tempests, whirle-winds of troubles, tumults, commotions, did Satan and his auxiliaries raise in all places and parts in the world (b), wheresoever Luthers Doctrine and Reformation did but touch, to render them the hatred and indignation of the world? Yea, and Luther himself doubted not to raise it to a generall maxime or observation, that Godly men must beare the name & title of men that are seditious, schismaticall, and Authors of infinite evils and troubles in the world. (c) That great and blessed alteration and change that God made in the State of Religion, and things of his worship, by the sending of Jesus Christ into the world, and the preaching of the Gospel, is called the shaking of the Heavens and the Earth (d), because of the great concussions, troubles, distractions, rents, and divisions, in the world, which did (and doe yet daily) accompany them, by reason of the pride, ignorance, and unbelieve of those which oppose either the one or the other. And as the Doctrine of the Gospel in the generall, never comes amongst any people in excellencie and power, but that it smites the foundations of that unie and peace wherein it finds them, makes breaches upon them, renting one part of them from another, upon which discontents and disorders follow like the waves of the Sea; in like manner, every considerable piece or branch of the Gospel, in the first discovery and breaking out of it, even in such places, and among such persons, where and amongst whom the Doctrine of the Gospel in the generall hath been of a long time*

(d) Hab. 2. 21. with Heb. 12. 26, 27.

professed,

professed, by reason of the strangeness of it, and that contrariety and crossness which it beares to the judgements and wills of many, must needs be offensive and distastefull unto them, and so occasion *distractions, disorders, discontents*. So that Mr. Prynne by representing my *Parish as divided, disordered by my Independent way*, hath rather given testimony to the truth and Evangelicalness of it, then brought any argument to disprove either. And to say (as he doth a few lines after) that *he needs no other evidence to prove it a schismaticall by-path, and so no way of Christ, then the schismes and discords which it hath raised in other Parishes*, is just such a saying and resolution, as that of the High Priest against our Saviour, *when he rent his cloaths, and said, He hath spoken blasphemie: What further need have we of Witnesses* (*)? The blasphemie of Christ, and the guiltiness of Independencie touching the matter of division and disorder, are sins much of the same order and calculation.

(*) Mat. 26. 68

To his fourth and last reason, which renders him a man of jealousy against the way of *Independencie*, and prevails with him so farre, that he *cannot* (as he saith) *think it a Way of Christ*; wee Answer.

Scit. 48.

1. That this way is no *Pioneer or underminer of Parliamentarie Authoritie*: nor hath Mr. Prynne found it, nor ever shall find it such: the principles of this way being none other then what are laid in the Scriptures, impossible it is, that it should *destroy*, or pull downe any thing, which they *build up*. Therefore if Mr. Prynne hath ought in this kind against any of the sons of this way, let him implead these in a lawfull triall, and spare not; but if for their sakes he will needs blaspheme the way, he will open a dore of example very effectuall for those that are opposite to his way of *Presbyterie*, to heap shame, infamie and reproach upon the head thereof without end; (yea, and for those also that are enemies to Christian Religion, to render that as hatefull, wicked, vile in the eyes of men, as themselves can desire it should be esteemed). If all the errors and misprisions found in the writings of *Presbyteriall men*, should be charged upon the way of *Presbyterie*, as the Authoress and Foundresse of them, she would appeare ten times more erroneous and deformed, then her *Independent* adversaries are yet willing to judge or conceive her to be.

2. For the Sons or *Patrons of this way* (as Mr. Prynne pleaseth to terme

(*) 1 Cor. 14. 11.

terme them) I verily beleeve, that there is none of them all, but are willing, ready and chearfull to invest *Parliaments* with as full, high, and compleat a power and Authoritie, as are by any, by all the rules and principles, either of reason, or Religion, competent unto men. If Mr. *Prynne*, or any other of the *Presbyterian way*, conceive that in times of *Parliaments*, when they apprehend them like to be for them, they may and ought to say, that *Gods are come down to us in the likeness of men* (*); we confesse, that we cannot (our reason, our Religion will not beare it at our hands) subscribe any such *Apotheosie*. But let him and his, first survey the territories, patrimonie, and heritance of Heaven, the royalties and prerogative of the most high God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ, blessed for ever, and set them out by the line and rule either of reason, or Religion; and look what power, Authoritie, Jurisdiction soever, shall be found situate, lying and being without the compasse of this line, no waies entorsecring with those that are within, wee all unanimously, universally professe, that *incunctanter*, and with both our hands we will cast and heap it upon the *Parliament*, asking no further question for conscience sake. Therefore whereas he challengeth this *way*, for devesting *Parliaments* of all manner of Jurisdiction in matters of Religion and Church-Government; we answer,

3. That neither this *way*, nor the Patrons of it, *devest* them of any, or any manner of Authoritie in what matters soever, unto which Mr. *Prynne*, or any other Master of the *Presbyterian way*, is able, *Salvo jure cœli*, to entitle them. For jurisdiction in matters of Religion and Church-Government, we willingly give unto them the same line, measure, and proportion herein to the full, which himself asserfeth unto them from the examples of those Kings and Princes, *Cyrus, Artaxerxes, Darius, &c.* (which he insists upon p. 20.) *Who* (as he here saith) *enacted good and wholesome Lawes, for the worship, honour, and service of the true God?* Let him instance particularly in any such Law, or Lawes, enacted by any of them: and (doubtlesse) none of us will denie the *Parliament* a power of enacting (exceptis excipiendis) the like. But if Mr. *Prynne's* intent be to make Precedent of whatsoever was enacted or done by any, or all of these *Heathen Kings, Princes, and States*, to warrant a lawfulness of power in the *Parliament* of enacting or doing the same, we conceive that he neither hath, nor knows where to have any thing to justifie such an intent.

I trust that that Law enacted by Nebuchadnezzar and his Nobles, Dan. 3. 6. That whosoever falleth nat downe and worshippeth, shall the same houre be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace, shall not be drawne by him into precedent, for the vindication of a Parliamentary Jurisdiction in matters of Religion and Church-Government.

4. Whereas to make good his last charge against the way so often smitten by his pen, he referres to the passage of the two Independent Brethren recited p. 3. of his *Independencie examined*, adding (after a parenthesis of much untruth, there being many that have represented the way he speaks of in her native colours and lineaments^(*)) that I rather aggravate, then extenuate the guiltie of the said passage, by my explanation, which he there recites; I answer,

1. That for matter of guilt, the passage referred unto, standeth as yet, cleare, innocent, and untouch'd, as concerning any thing in way of demerit, that hath been prov'd against it.

2. As concerning the explanation, that also keeps its standing, and that upon holy ground, notwithstanding all that Mr. Prynn hath done, or attempted to doe, for the removall of it;

— *manet illa, suo p. est robore tuta.*

Yea, the truth is, that in all his contra-remonstrance, he hath not so much as once touch'd or mentioned that which is the maine base or foundation of the principall conclusion managed in the said explanation, and principally opposed by him. The conclusion is not that which Mr. Prynn extracts from the passage which he cites, viz. that there is not onely an improbabilitie, but an absolute impossibilitie, that the Parliament should have any power at all to enact Lawes and Statutes in matters of Religion, Church-Government, &c. Here are words, which the explanation knows not, either in the letter, or in the spirit of them, as by name these, not onely an improbabilitie, an absolute impossibilitie, no power at all, &c. but the maine conclusion driven at in the passage, is this; That the generalitie or promiscuous multitude of the Land have no authoritie or power from Christ to nominate or appoint, who shall be the men that shall order the affaires of Christs Kingdome, or institute the Government of his Churches. The maine foundation or base of reason, upon which this pillar of Truth stands in the said passage, is this; Because such an Authoritie or power (viz. to nominate or appoint who shall order the affaires

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of

(*) The New England Catechisme, called The Government of the Church, compos'd by Mr. Cotton, and thrice printed. A Guide unto Zion. Another small treatise, burful of learning, reading and strength, called, Sions Prerogative Royall. The answer of the Elders of the severall Churches of New England to 33 questions, sent &c. Another Answer of the same Elders to 9. other Questions about Church-Government. Mr. Thompson and Mr. Mathers Answer to Mr. Charles Herles Independencie. Mr. Tho. Wells answer to Mr. W. Rathbone; besides many other Treatises published upon this subject.

of Christs Kingdome, or institute the Government of his Churches) is greater then ever *Christ himself had*, (I meane as man, or Mediator) at leſt then ever be exerciſed, which in the ſequell I explaine and prove. Now then this is that which I ſay, that Mr. Prynne in all his long reaſoning againſt the *Concluſion*, doth not ſo much as with the leaſt of his fingers once touch this ground, or answer any thing at all to it. So that he hath not as yet the leaſt colour or pretence to blame me, if I be not profelyted to his opinion by what he hath written here. And becauſe I deſire faire and Chriſtian quarter with him for the future, I doe here promiſe and proteſt in the ſight of God, Angels, and men, that if Mr. Prynne ſhall at any time (God preſerving my life and underſtanding) plainly and ſubſtancially demonſtrate and prove, either that the *generalitie, and promiſuous multitude of the Land*, have a power greater then ever the Lord Chriſt himſelf had, or exerciſed as man, or Mediator; or, that a power to nominate and appoint whom they pleaſe amongſt men, to order the affaires of Christs Kingdome, and institute the Government of his Churches, is not a power greater then ever Chriſt had, or at leaſt exerciſed, as either man, or Mediator; I promiſe and proteſt againe, as before, that if Mr. Prynne, or any other, ſhall at any time clearly and fairly prove, either the one or the other of theſe propoſitions, I will pull downe with both mine hands, what I have built up but with one, and without any more adoe joyn judgement with Mr. Prynne touching the power of the Civill Magiſtrate in matters of Religion: but till this be done, I neither ſee how Mr. Prynne can with a good conſcience perſiſt in his, nor require me to deſiſt from mine. It is true, the Lord Chriſt as Mediator, had all power given him both in Heaven and on Earth, Mat. 28. 18. That is, had the whole and intire execution and tranſaction of all his Fathers will, pleaſure, and decrees, concerning all men, Angels & creatures whatſoever, put into his hand & power. And hath given him Authoritie TO EXECUTE judgement alſo, becauſe he is the ſon of man, Joh. 5. 27. But he had no power or Authoritie given him, to carry any thing contrary to his Fathers will or pleaſure. Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, (ſaith he himſelf, Joh. 5. 19.) *the Son can doe nothing of himſelf, but what he ſeeeth the Father doe, &c.* So againe, ver. 30. *I can doe nothing of my ſelf*--- Now then as Chriſt had no commiſſion or power to give eternall life, but onely to thoſe whom God the Father had given unto him,

Joh.

Joh. 17. 2. Joh. 6. 37. So neither had he any Authoritative power to institute or appoint any other government for his Churches, then that which he had *seene with*, or received from *his Father*: much lesse had he any such power, to delegate unto men (least of all unto *unsanctified persons and rude multitudes*) a power of nominating whom they should please, to appoint and settle what government they pleas'd in the Churches of God. Certain I am, that Christ never exercised any such power as this: and therefore have little hope of being convinc'd that he ever had it. Howsoever, let us give the Gentleman an impartial hearing in what he pleads against the aforesaid Conclusion.

1. To his former marginall Annotation (p. 22.) honoured with a Preface of this word, *Note*, wherein he tells me that *Gamaliel and my Text* never taught me any such *Anti-Parliamentary Doctrine*. I answer, that neither doth *Gamaliel*, nor my Text, nor any other Text whatsoever in Scripture, teach Mr. Prymme to call the truth an *Anti-Parliamentary Doctrine*. But both *Gamaliel* and my Text teach me to take heed of fighting against God; and I being taught so high and necessary a point of wisdom, conceiv'd it my dutie not to eat such a morsell alone, but to spread a Table for as many of my Brethren as pleas'd to come, and sit downe and eat of the same with me. I and my *Doctrine* are onely in such a sense *Anti-Parliamentarian*, as Christ and his were *Anti-Cesarian*.

Sect. 49.

2. To a second Marginall note in the same page, ordered likewise to be noted (as the former) I answer likewise, that though people have *authoritie to nominate such who by the rule of Gods Word may limit some particulars, though not by their own bare Authoritie, without, or against the Word*, yet it followeth not; either

Sect. 50.

1. That they have *authoritie to nominate such*, who shall have authoritie by vertue of such nomination to peremptorize by fire or sword all their *limitations* whatsoever, as agreeable to Gods Word. Nor

2. Doth it follow, that, in case their *limitations* should be agreeable to the word of God, therefore they have power to compell any man by externall violence, to subject either in their judgement or practise unto them; especially whilst they are not able to convince them of any such excellency in these *limitations*, as an agreeableness to the word of God? It is no waies agreeable to the word of God, that

men should be punished either in their bodies or estates, for not siding with the truth in difficult and hard Questions; as all such may well be presumed to be, wherein sober and conscientious persons cannot be satisfied. The word of God doth not permit two persons or parties of a dissenting judgement about an hard case or question, to judge or think hardly one of another ^(a); much lesse doth it permit them to punish, or lay violent hands one upon another. Nor

^(a) Rom. 14.
2, 3, 4.

3. And lastly, doth it follow, that, though *Princes, Magistrates, Ministers, Parliaments, Synods*, should be nominated or elected by the lawfull power of the people, and withall should have *Authoritie* by the word of God to limit any particulars thereof; that therefore this *Authoritie* should be deriv'd upon them by means of such nomination. Every private man hath sufficient *Authoritie*, (though perhaps he may want ability of gifts) to limit any particular in the word of God according to the word of God; this being nothing else but a true and right apprehending or understanding of this word. Which apprehension or understanding of his, though he hath no power by way of office to impart unto others, yet hath he a right, yea, and an obligation upon him by way of dutie, so to impart it, when God affords season and opportunitie, time and place for it. So that this marginall note is not accessory to any harme done to the said Conclusion.

Señ. 51.

3. To a third marginall note subservient in the same page to the two former, I answer,

1. That though it should be granted, that every *Magistrate, Parliament and Synod* have power to declare and injoyn, what is necessarie to be beleev'd, practis'd, by or according to Gods Word, yet this is nothing more then what every Pastor or Minister over a congregation, hath power to do, yea and ought to do ^(b) from day to day in the course of his ministry. But

b¹ Tim 6. 13.
17, 18.
1 Tim. 4. 11.
&c.

2. If by declaring and enjoyning, he means any such declaring and enjoyning, whereby *Magistrate, Parliament, or Synod*, shall be enabled temporally to punish those who shall either not beleev'e, or not practise; I answer, that this is but *petitio Principii*, a supposall of that which is the main Question; and therefore waits still upon Mr. Prynne's pen for a more sufficient proof, the old writ of *Ipse dixit*, being out of date long since. We have reconciled the margin; and nothing

nothing doubt but that the page will be of as easie accommodation. Therefore

4. Whereas he puts himself to the needlesse labour of repeating the charge formerly charged upon my Doctrine, as *an underminer of the Authority of Parliaments, &c.* I shall take admonition by it, and save a needlesse labour of repeating what hath been already said in way of answer to it. Onely I shall adde, that this Repetition of Mr. Prymme's judgement and charge of my fore-mentioned Doctrine, compared with my own thoughts and apprehensions of it, puts me in mind of a saying of a great Casuist: *Eidem possunt alicui videri manifeste vera, quæ alteri videntur manifeste falsa.* The same things may seem to one manifestly true, which to another seem as manifestly false. That Doctrine which Mr. Prymme arraigns as an *underminer of Parliamentary Authority*, I conceive to be a Doctrine of the richest establishment and confirmation to it: of which apprehension of mine, I have given a sufficient account elsewhere.

5. Whereas he further chargeth the said Doctrine with *contrariety to my late Covenant and Protestation, and that in the most transcendent manner that ever any have hitherto attempted in print; and refers himself to all wise men to judge, whether this be not so; I referre both himself and all his wise men, to judge, whether I have not given a sufficient answer hereunto in my Innocencies Triumph. p. 4, 5, 6, &c.* yet lest sentence should be given against me herein, I here adde, that certainly no clause in that *Covenant and Protestation* intended, that the Subscribers unto it should be bound in conscience by vertue of such subscription, to make Gods of men, or (which interpreted, amounts to as much) to give any man *Dominion over his Faith* (a). If this be but granted, my Doctrine is no Delinquent at all against the *Covenant and Protestation*.

6. Whereas he promises, or threatens (which he pleaseth) *a short answer to my extravagant discourse; and first alledgeth that the objection might be made against the generall Assemblies, Parliaments, the Church, the Authority of it, is not sufficient; possibly the Church may erre, and therefore we must flee to the Throne of Jesus Christ the Head of the Church for satisfaction. Whom shall we rather believe concerning God, then God himself? if there were a Council of the most learned Doctors that ever the world had, yea, if an Assembly of Angels, yet in matters of Religion, concerning the good way, the last Resolution must be into Thus saith the Lord.* Mr. Th. Hill (an High-resolved Presbyterian) in a Sermon, intitled the Good old way, Gods way, &c.) preached before the L. Maior, &c. Apr. 24. 1644. p. 16, 17.

Kings

Kings of the Israelites, who were chosen by the people, yet they made Laws and Statutes concerning Religion, and Gods worship, with his approbation: I answer.

Scit. 52.

1. That the *Generall Assemblies, and Kings of Israel, were not chosen by the people*, at least by any formall free choice of one out of many, as our Parliaments and Assemblies are. For first the Generall Assemblies consisted of the generalitie of the people, and so were not chosen at all; for where *all* are admitted, there is no choice. Or secondly, if by the *Generall Assemblies of Israel*, he means the seventy persons spoken of, *Numb. 11. 16. 24. &c.* it is evident from the context, first, that they were not chosen by the people into that Assembly, but by *Moses*, and that by expresse order and command from God. They might possibly be chosen by the people into the places of *Elders and Governours* over their respective Families and Tribes; but they had no right or calling by vertue of such eldership, to gather themselves into an Assembly of seventy, upon any such terms, or for any such ends, as the fore-mentioned Assembly were drawn together by God. Secondly, evident likewise it is, from ver. 25. that these seventy had a speciall anointing of the Holy Ghost from God, and prophecied. Therefore there is a great difference between this Assembly, and generall Assemblies now.

2. Neither were the *Kings of Israel chosen by the people*, but by God; except we will call a subsequent consent and that by way of duty and homage to the choice made by God, a choice. *When thou shalt come unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it and dwell therein, if thou say, I will set a King over me, like as all the Nations that are about me, Then shalt thou make him King over thee, whom the LORD THY GOD SHALL CHUSE, &c.* *Deut. 17. 14, 15.* *Saul* their first King, was chosen and appointed by God, *1 Sam. 9. 15, 16.* So *David* their second King, *1 Sam. 16. 1.* yea his seed likewise was chosen and appointed by God to succeed in this Kingdom, and to reign after him for ever, *2 Sam. 7. 12. 16.* yea and notwithstanding this generall choice and designation, *Solomon* their King, is particularly said to have been chosen by God, *1 Chr. n. 29. 1.* So for the Kings that reigned over the ten Tribes, after the rent of the ten Tribes from the other two; *Jeroboam*, the first King, was chosen by God, *1 King. 11. 31.* yea and his

his seed also, conditionally, ver. 38. But *Nadab* his son, proving wicked, brake the condition, and cut off the intailment. Their third King, *Baasha*, was not *chosen by the people* neither, but was fore-chosen by God, 1 *King*. 14. 14. to do that execution upon the house of *Ieroboam*, which is recorded, 1 *King*. 15. 27, 28, 29. *Elah* their next King succeeded his Father, by right of inheritance, and is nowhere said to have been *chosen by the people* into the throne. *Zimri* the next, was a bloody Traytor and usurper. The two next following him, *Omri* and *Tibni*, were set up indeed by the people, but not in any way of a lawfull and regular election, but by way of tumult and faction: and the one partie prevailing, the King followed by the other, was soon suppressed. *Ahaz* the son of the prevailing King, without any *election by the people* (except a connivence or permission, be called an *election*) by the ascent of descent or succession got up into the throne. After the same manner also *Ahaziah* his son came to be King. This *Ahaziah* dying without children, his Brother *Jehoram* (another son of *Ahaz*, and next to him by birth, as it seems) by the privilege of his birth came peaceably to the Kingdom, without any *election by the people* any where heard of. 2 *King*. 1. 17. The next King, *Jehu* by name, was *chosen by God* himself after a speciall manner, 2 *King*. 9. 1, 2. and his children after him to the fourth generation (2 *King*. 10. 30.) to sit upon the throne of Israel. *Shallum*, who succeeded *Ahaz* and his race, (their date of Reiglement being expired) came to the Kingdome by blood; and is indeed said to have *smote Zachariah* (the last of *Ahaz*'s race) *before the people*, and so to have reigned in his stead: (2 *King*. 15. 10.) but by what *maxime en le ley*, the murdering of a King *before the people*, will be interpreted, a being *chosen King by the people*, I understand not. *Menasem* his successor after a moneths reigne, found the same way to the Kingdome (I mean, by blood) which his Predecessour had chalked out. *Pekahiah* his son and successor, had no other choice we read of, but onely by that his relation. Nor had *Pekah* who succeeded him in the throne, any other choice into this dignitie, but onely by the murder he committed upon his Master; except it be said, that he was chosen by those 52. men who assisted him in that bloody execution. 2 *King*. 15. 25. Nor had *Hoshea* (the last of these Kings) any other choice, entrance, or acesse we read of unto the Throne, but the same with his

his Predecessor, a bloodie conspiracie against his Lord and Master. So that Mr. Prynne is absolutely mistaken in the very bottome and groundwork of his first allegation, affirming the *Generall Assemblies, Parliaments, Kings of the Israelites, to have been chosen by the people.*

3. (And lastly) neither did they make *Laws and Statutes concerning Religion and Gods worship, with his approbation, except his approbation went along with the transgression of his Law.* For by this they stood exprelly charg'd, not to *adde unto the word which he commanded them, nor yet to diminish ought from it.* Deut. 4. 2. And againe, Deut. 12. 32. And what *addition* could be made with an higher hand, or with more provocation in the sight of God, unto *this word* of his, then an *enacting Laws and Statutes concerning Religion, and his worship,* whereunto men should stand bound in conscience to submit, as well as unto the *Laws* of God themselves declared in this word? Or if it be said, that men were not bound in conscience to submit to such *Laws and Statutes*, as well as unto the *Laws* of God; then were they not to be punished for non-submission to them, unlesse we will say, that men ought to be punished for somewhat else, besides sin.

Seet. 53.

To his second reason against the Doctrine and Conclusion aforesaid, I answer, that as *God himself used the ministry, assistance of Cyrus, Artaxerxes, Darius, for the building of his Temple, and advancement of his worship, for which they made Decrees, Statutes;* so I conceive he doth expect and require the *ministry, assistance of Christian Magistrates, Parliaments, and Laws and Statutes to be made by them, for the promotion of his worship.* But as *Cyrus, Artaxerxes, Darius, made no Decree, Statute, to discourage any of the true worshippers of God, nor yet to compell them to any kinde of worship, contrary (in their judgements) to the word of God; or in case they did make, or should have made, any such Decree, Statute, they should have exceeded the limits of their just power, and not have done justifiably in the sight of God; So neither can Christian Princes, Magistrates, commend themselves unto God in any such exercise of their power, whereby they shall constraine or enforce the conscientious & faithfull servants of God to any kind of worship, contrary to their conscience, or by the performance whereof, condemning it in their judgements for unlawfull, they should pollute and condemne themselves in the sight of God.* To

Self. 54.

To his third Reason we answer likewise ; that for most *Christian Kings and Magistrates in the world*, whether claiming to be hereditarie, or whether eligible by the people, as the Members of Parliament are, we CAN without either disloyaltie or absurdity, deny them any such Authority in matters of Religion and Church-Government, whereby they should be enabled to destroy, crush, or undo such persons as live godlily and peaceably under their jurisdiction, and that for none other reason or offence on their parts, but either for weaknesse in judgement and understanding, by reason whereof they cannot see the agreeablenesse of those things that are imposed on them, to the Word of God, (in case they be indeed so qualified) or else for the goodnesse of their conscience, which is unwilling to ship-wrack its own peace, by going contrarie to its own light and dictate. We freely allow to all *Christian Kings and Magistrates in the world*, any Authority whatsoever in matters of Religion, Church-Government, or in what other causes or cases soever it can be desired either by them, or for them, which will not claim or challenge a right of power to punishment for not being as wise, as learned, as farre insighted into matters of Religion as themselves, or for such matters of fact which are occasioned directly and meerly by such defects as these. We allow a power to all Magistrates to punish the wickednesse of mens wils ; when this discovers it self by any futable action in what matters or cases soever : but the weaknesse of mens judgements, we conceive calls rather for means of instruction, then matter of punishment, from the Magistrates hand. We cannot judge, that the mistaking of a mans way in a dark controversy, deserves a prison, or any other stroke with the civill sword.

To his fourth we answer ;

Self. 55.

1. That whereas he affirms, that I do not onely grant, but argue, that every private man hath, yea ought to have, power to elect and constitute his own Minister, cauling these words to be printed in a differing character, as if they were mine, and onely transcribed by him, citing (in his margin) pag. 25. 26. as their quarter in my discourse; the truth is, that this is no fair play ; for there is no such line or juncto of wordseither in either of those pages, or elsewhere in those Sermons. It never came into my thoughts to think, (nor surely ever issued out of my pen) that every private man hath, or ought to have

have a power to constitute his own Minister. And besides he puts a more quaint and subtile distinction upon me, then I am capable of. I cannot conceive that any private man hath a power to elect or constitute his Minister, except he ought to have it. That power which God hath been pleased to conferre upon any man, he both ought to have, and hath; though the exercise and benefit of that power may be injuriously denied unto him, or withheld from him.

2. Whereas he further presumes, that I will grant, that private men have power likewise to set up Independent Congregations, which have Authority to prescribe such Covenants, Laws and rules of Government, Discipline, worship, as themselves think most agreeable to the Word; and hereupon demands; if then they may derive such an Ecclesiasticall Authority to Independent Ministers and Churches, why not as well to Parliaments, and Synods likewise by the self-same reason? I answer,

1. That he is mistaken in his good opinion of my bountie. For I do not grant, either first, that all, or every sort of, private men have power to set up any Independent Congregation. Or 2. That any private men have power to set up any such congregation consisting of other men then themselves: but onely to agree together amongst themselves to become such a congregation. Or 3. That any Congregation whatsoever hath any Authority to practise, much lesse to prescribe either such Covenants, Laws, Rules of Government, or worship, as themselves onely think most agreeable to the Word of God; but onely to practise those amongst themselves which they know to be agreeable to the Word of God; without prescribing either these or any other, unto others. God gives no person or Congregation any Authority or power so much as to practise themselves what they simply think most agreeable to his Word, but onely that which REALLY IS agreeable unto his Word; much lesse doth he give either the one or the other any Authority to prescribe their thinkings in this kind unto others. But

2. Whereas he demands, Why private men may not derive an Ecclesiasticall Authority unto Parliaments and Synods, as well as unto Independent Ministers and Churches; the account is readie:

1. No private men whatsoever, can in any sense, neither in whole, nor in part, derive any Ecclesiasticall Authority, either unto any Minister, but onely him, unto whom they commit the charge of their souls; nor unto any Congregation, but onely that whereof they

they are members themselves. Therefore it no wayes follows; *Private men have power to derive Ecclesiasticall Authoritie* to those *Congregations* whereof they are the respective members themselves: therefore they have the like *power to derive the same Authority to Parliaments and Synods*, whereof they are no members: Take a parallel: The Assistants in the Company of Chirurgians, have an interest in the Government and carriage of the affairs of their own Companie; therefore they have the same interest in the Government of the affairs of the Company of Merchant-taylors.

2. A person qualified for the office and work of the Ministry according to the word of God, is a subject capable of *Ecclesiasticall Authority*; and may accordingly by persons Authorized by the word of God thereunto, be lawfully invested with that *power*: But we have no rule or direction from the word of God either 1. to judge whether, or when, either Parliaments or Synods are subjects capable of Ecclesiasticall Authority: nor 2. is there any rule or warrant to be found there for the Authorizing of any sort, or rank of men, actually to conferre such an *Authority or power*, in case they should be found subjects capable of it. Therefore Mr. Prymme arguing in this place, is of no better form, or strength, then this: *Privatem men* may do that which Gods Word authorizeth them to do: therefore they may do that also, which Gods Word doth not authorize them unto. But

3. (And lastly) The main foundation and ground-work upon which he builds the fabrique of his reasoning here, is an utter mistake. For I neither grant nor think, that private men, either when by consent they first congregate themselves and chuse a Minister or Pastor over them, much lesse when they joyn themselves to a Congregation already gathered and form'd, do derive any *Ecclesiasticall Authority* unto it; but that a company of persons fearing God, and consenting together to become a Church-body or holy Congregation, have an *Authoritie* (which you may call Ecclesiastike, if you please; but I shall not commend the terme unto you in this case, nor would I willingly call it an *authoritie*, but rather a right or privilege) derived unto them, not by themselves, but from God: First to chuse unto themselves a Pastor, and other officers, as opportunity shall be, such as are recommended in the Scriptures as meet for such places, and then by, and together, with

these to administer and order their Church-affaires, in all the concerns thereof, according to the word of God, in the name and authoritie of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose properly, all Ecclesiasticall authoritie is.

Act. 56.

To his fifth argument, we answer,

1. By a demurre, whether God doth oft-times make use of unsanctified persons, and the rude multitude (which I doe not under-value, because I refuse to entitle them to a power in Church-matters greater then even the Apostles had) to advance his glory, propagate his Gospel, promote his worship, vindicate his truth, edifie his Church. A Judas, a Balaam, a Saul, a Gamaliel, a persecuting High-Priest, were not the rude multitude: unsanctified persons it is like they were, at least most of them: But God did not oft-times make use either of Balaam, or Saul, or Gamaliel, or the persecuting High Priest, either to propagate his Gospel, promote his worship, edifie his Church, &c. but the Devill oft-times made use of them to the contrary, viz. to hinder his Gospel, to pollute his worship, to persecute his Church, &c. And for the vulgar multitude, which he commends as none-such, for forwardnesse to beleve, follow, professe Christ, embrace the Gospel, though he confesseth, that many of them did it for sinister ends; I answer, 1. That this multitude was but one swallow, (not a multitude of swallows) and therefore not sufficient to make his spring, of Gods oft-times using the rude multitude to doe such and such things. 2. They that beleve, follow, professe Christ, embrace the Gospel out of sinister ends, when they decline and fall back (as all sinister-ended Professors are like to doe first, or last, and as this vulgar multitude generally did) are like more to hinder and set back the Gospel by their declining, then even they propagated or promoted it by their profession. But

2. Whereas he inferres, that therefore they may well have power to chuse such persons, who shall and may imitate Lawes, to promote the Gospel and Government of the Church of Christ; I answer,

1. That Gods power to make use of unsanctified persons, or a rude multitude to promote the affaires of his Gospel, Worship, Churches, &c. is no argument to prove, that therefore men may commit the care and trust of these affaires to such persons or multitudes, or interesse them in any such power, which it is ten to one but they will use rather in a destructive, then promotive way thereunto. Gods power to putre out a Spirit of prophesie upon a person altogether ignorant of

of the Scriptures; and so to *powre out a Spirit* of grace and holinesse upon a gracelesse and prophane person, is no ground or warrant for a Christian Congregation to chuse either such an ignorant or prophane person for their Minister or Pastor.

2. Neither is Gods will, act, or example in this kind, as *viz.* when to shew the soveraigntie of his power over and above the powers of darknesse, and the *God of this world*; he makes use of Satan to give testimony unto his Son Jesus Christ, as he did, *Mar. 1. 24. Luk. 4. 34.* and so to exercise the patience of *Job* by afflicting him, as he did, *Job 1.* Such acts (I say) or dispensations of God as these, are no grounds for the justification of such men, who shall make use of the Devill to preach the Gospel, or to afflict the Saints, for the exercise or improvement of their patience. Therefore nothing that ever God hath done (how oft soever he hath done it) either by *unsanctified persons*, or by *rude multitudes*, for the propagation of his Gospel, the edification of his Church, &c. doth any waies countenance or warrant men, to invest either the one or the other with such a power, whereby they may endamage and make havock and spoyle both of the one and the other. The reason is plaine: Because the evil Spirit that said (1), *Jesus I know, and Paul I know*; yet said to the Exorcists, *but who are yee?* So the powers of sin and wickednesse in men, which will tremble at the voyce of God, and forget their natures and motions at his command, will laugh all the conjurements and charmings of men in the face to scorne; and will act their own parts, and drive on their own way with what fury and violence they please, notwithstanding all charges, intercessions, and obtestations of men to the contrary. Therefore no power can with reason, equitie, or conscience, be put into the hand of such persons, (I meane *persons unsanctified and rude multitudes*.) of nominating whom they please (I meane from amongst persons eligible enough by the Lawes of the Land either for Parliamentary or Synodical interest) to umpire in the affaires of the Gospel, and to make what *Lawes* they please for the government of the Church of Christ.

If it be yet objected and said; But why may not *unsanctified persons and rude multitudes* nominate and chuse such, who by vertue of such nomination may have power to make *Lawes in matters of Religion, Worship, Government of the Church*, &c. though not according as they please, yet according to the word of God, and such as

(1) *AR. 19. 15.*

are

are agreeable therunto ? What inconvenience is there in this ? I answer,

1. By way of concession ; that the grant of a power in persons so nominated and chosen to make Lawes onely of encouragement and protection to the servants of God, in matters of Religion and Church-Government, or to order some particularities in either, onely upon encouragements to those that shall obey without penall enacttions against those that cannot obey, may possibly not tend or sort to much inconvenience. Nor let any man think, that outward mulcts and penalties are essentiall unto Lawes, whether in matters of Religion, worship, or in any other cases. *Threatning of bodily punishment* (saith learned Mr. Ruiberford, one of the Commissioners for the kingdome of Scotland ^(a)) *is not essentiall to Lawes in the generall, because some Lawes are seconded onely with rewards.* Yet this inconvenience (it's like) would attend even such a power, were it granted ; Those Lawes which should be made in matters of Religion, worship, &c. by men in authoritie, would be of like consequence amongst the generalitie of men, with the traditions of the Scribes and Pharisees, by which they made the Commandements of God of none effect ^(b) ; I meane they would so interesse themselves in the hearts and affections of the common sort of men, that they would soone place more in the observation of them, then in keeping the Commandements of God. An experiment of which inconvenience we had in folio, in the Ceremoniall and superstitious injunctiōs of the late Prelaticall power, when men thought better of themselves for standing up at the Creed, joyning in *Gloria Patri*, *secundum usum Sarum*, bowing at the Name *Iesus*, cringing before an Altar, &c. then they did of others for hearing the Word of God preached, with reverence and attention, or for walking in a conscientious conformitie unto it. But

2. If a further power shall be granted unto men so chosen (I meane by *un-sanctified persons and rude multitudes*, as Mr. Prymme calleth them) as viz. a power of enacting Lawes and Statutes in matters of Religion, worship, &c. under what mulcts and penalties they please, who shall judge whether these Lawes and Statutes be agreeable to the word of God, or no ? If they themselves, the Law-makers, shall be Judges, miserable is the condition of the servants of God under them like to be : because it is not to be expected, but that they will avouch

(a) Due right
of Presbyteries. part. 2.
pag. 469.

(b) Mat. 15. 5.

avouch whatever *Laws* or *Statutes* they shall make in this kind, to be agreeable to the word of God. The Popish Parliaments, during the reign of Antichristianisme in the Land, did no lesse. If the people, from whom obedience and subjection to such *Laws* is expected, shall be authorized to judge, whether these *Laws* be agreeable to the word of God, or no; (which of necessitie must be granted, otherwise obedience unto them can never be yeilded with a good conscience) this will reflect prejudice and disparagement upon the wisdom and prudence of the Law-givers, (and consequently enervate their Authoritie) especially when any of these Judges shall give sentence *in oppositum*, and determine a nullitie in such *Laws*, for want of due correspondence with the word of God. The nomothetique power or Authoritie, wherever it resides, will never consult honour, interest, confirmation or strength to it self, by making such *Laws*, which in their very nature, frame, and constitution are matters of dispute, and which must passe and abide the tests of the judgements and consciences of the best and wisest of those that are to yeeld subjection unto them, and that with so much hazard of censure and contradiction, as *Laws* made in matters of Religion, worship, and Church-Government, alwayes have been and ever will be exposed unto. The point of agreeablenesse to the word of God, in *Laws* and *Statutes* about matters of Religion, will be a farre longer suite and Question between Legislators in that kind, and conscientious subjects, then ever any Chancerie suite was, or is like to be

3. To me it is a question, whether in this assertion (at least understood according to the proper importance of the words) *Men have power to make Laws and Statutes in matters of Religion, worship, &c. agreeable to the word of God*; there be not contradiction in adjuncto (as Logicians speak). It is a very hard matter for me to conceive how any thing should be agreeable to the Word of God, at least in matters of Religion, worship, &c. but onely that, which for the spirit, matter and substance of it, is the word of God it self. There is no great agreeablenesse between that which is necessarie, and that which is unnecessarie; between that which is indulgent and favourable to the Saints and others in point of libertie, and that which inthralls and brings them into bondage; between that which is of divine inspiration, and that which is of humane. Now certain it is, that whatsoever is imposed upon men by the word of God, is necessarie, and

and of *divine inspiration*; and whatsoever *the word of God* doth not impose upon men, it doth it in a way of a gracious libertie and indulgence unto men. And as certain it is, that whatsoever shall be imposed upon the Saints or others by men, especially in *matters of Religion, worship, &c.* which for the matter and substance of it is not the very *word of God* it self, is first unnecessary, (for otherwise we must make the Word of God imperfect, and defective even in matters of necessitie, which is Popery in the highest) and secondly, it is but of humane *inspiration*, except we hold Enthusiasme, and the revelations eccentrick to the Scriptures are yet authentique and of propheticall authority: thirdly (and lastly) it is an abridgement of the libertie, a cancelling of that indulgence, wherewith God in his Word hath gratified the world. Therefore whatsoever shall be imposed by men upon men in *matter of Religion, worship, &c.* under a pretence of an agreeablenesse to the *word of God*, in case it be not (in the sense declared) the very *word of God* it self, it can have no other agreeablenesse *with this word*, then Pelop's shoulder, which (if Poets feign not) was made of yvorie, had with the other limbs and members of his body which were all living and sound flesh. Yea and whether any *Law* or *Statute*, can in any sense be said to be agreeable to the *word of God*, which shall make the Saints servants and bondmen, where *God in his Word* hath either made them, or left them free, I refer to further and more mature consideration. But

4. And lastly, Suppose it were granted, as a thing convenient, that some should be intrusted or invested with a power of making Laws and Statutes in *matters of Religion, worship, &c.* provided they be agreeable to the *Word of God*; yet inasmuch as the making of such Laws and Statutes upon such terms, necessarily requireth the most exact and profound know'edge and understanding of the Scriptures; I cannot conceive that *un sanctified persons, or rude multitudes*, could be Authorized by God, or by any principle of sound reason, to have the *nomination* or *election* of those men; but rather another Generation, who may in reason be conceived to have a more excellent spirit of discerning of such abilities in men, then they. When men stand in need of the help and advise of a Physician, Lawyer, or Divine, they do not addresse themselves to a company of *children playing together in the market place*, (as our

Saviour

Saviour speaks (a)) to nominate or vote amongst them, what person in any of these professions they should employ & commit their concerns unto. No more did God ever issue any commission out of Heaven to *unsanctified persons, rude multitudes*, men ignorant of God and of the Scriptures, to nominate or chuse for him, who, or what men he should employ to make *Laws and Statutes* for his Saints and Churches, *in matters of Religion*, and which concerne his *worship*. A man of ordinary discretion, and that knows any thing of the nature or disposition of the Fox, will never chuse a Fox to be his Catecher (as our English Proverb hath it).

(a) Luk. 7. 31.

To his sixth and last Argument, Answer, and end.

Self. 57.

1. That it is not alwayes found, that *those who have no skill at all in Law, Physicke, or Architecture, have yet judgement and reason enough to make choyce of the best Lawyers, Physicians, Architects, when they need their help*. If this were true, these professions would prove malignant unto, and eat up the far greatest part of their own children and professors: there would be very few in any of them, that ever should have employments. For who is there that would set a bungler on work, that *hath judgement and reason enough* to chuse a Master-workman? Especially considering what our English Proverb saith; *The best, is best cheape*. There is no man will ride upon an ox, that may have a well-manag'd and mettal'd gelding to carrie him. But

2. Suppose it should be granted, as universally true, that *men who have no skill at all in the said professions, yet had judgement and reason enough to make choyce of the best in every of them respectively, when they stood in need of their help*; yet this supposition must be made withall, that these *best Practitioners*, which according to the other supposition will be *chosen*, have given a sufficient account & prooffe, and that to publick satisfaction of their respective abilities in their severall professions. Otherwise how shall they who have no skill in their professions, come to know or understand, so much as by conjecture, who are the best in them? This being so, Mr. Prymes comparison or parallel, halts right-downe. Because many of those, who are by the Laws of the Land eligible into places of Parliamtarie trust and power, yea, haply many of those who are of the best and richest accomplishment for the discharge of that part of this trust, which Mr. Pryme will needs suppose belongeth to them, (I

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meane in making Lawes in matters of Religion, worship, Church-Government, &c. agreeable to the word of God) never have given any publick account or prooffe (nor perhaps ever had opportunitie to doe it) of those abilities which God hath given them in that kinde. And if so, how should the *rude multitudes*, or the generalitie of the people ever come to know or understand who are the best or fittest men to be chosen into those great places of trust and power?

3. When men stand in need of the help either of a *Lawyer, Physician, or Architect*, it is a far easier matter to know how to chuse a man in any of these professions, without running the hazard of much detriment in his occasions, then it is for men to know how to chuse men tolerably qualified for Parliamentary imployment; especially, if one part of this imployment consists in *making Lawes & Statutes in matters of Religion, worship, &c. agreeable to the word of God*. The reason of the difference is plaine: Recourse is made to *Lawyers* (and so to *Physicians, Architects* respectively) onely for one kind of help or imployment, and that such which is proper to their profession, and wherein their abilitie and sufficiencie, is or very possibly may be sufficiently knowne; But Parliamentarie service or imployment consisting (according to Mr. *Prynnes* notion) as well in making Church-Lawes, in matters of Religion, worship, &c. agreeable to the word of God, as in framing Laws politique, to accomodate the civill affaires of the Common-wealth (which are imployments of a very differing nature, hardly incident unto, and very rarely found in one and the same person) it must needs be conceived to be a matter of very great difficultie, and requiring a very choyce and excellent spirit of discerning, to make a commendable, yea, or a competent choice of men for that investiture and trust. Yea, himself p. 6. acknowledgeth little lesse then an utter inconsistency of respective abilities in one and the same person, for these so different imployments; For here he requires, both *Politicians and Statesmen* as fit to be consulted with to *settle a Church-Government to the Civill State*, and likewise an *Assembly of Divines*, to *square it by*, and to *the word*. But in as much as whatsoever an *Assembly of Divines* shall determine in or about Church-Government, or other matters of Religion, cannot passe into an Act, Law, or Statute, but by the supervening of Parliamentarie interest upon their determinations, and there beeing every whit as great (if not farre greater) abilities in
Divinitie

Divinitie and knowledge of the Scriptures, requisite to enable men rightly to discern and judge, whether a *Church-Government*, or other Decision in matter of Religion, be agreeable to the word of God, as there are to discourse and make out that in either kind which is agreeable thereunto; yea and further, it being no waies either Christian or reasonable, that a Parliament should passe that into an Act, Law, or Statute, as agreeable to the word of God, and oblige an whole Kingdome under mulcts and penalties to submit unto it accordingly, which themselves are not able to discern whether it be indeed agreeable unto the word of God, or no; these three things (I say) duly considered, evident it is, that it is a matter almost of infinite difficultie, (and therefore not so obvious to *unsanctified persons, and rude multitudes*, as Mr. Prymme would carrie it) to discern or make choice of persons of a due temper and composition for Parliamentarie operations, Mr. Prymme supposition being admitted, *viz. that making Lawes in matters of Religion*, as well as in civill affaires, is a part of these operations. To set then his comparison upright, wee must state it thus: Suppose Mr. Prymme were of none of the three Professions he speaks of, neither Lawyer, nor Physician, nor Architect, but stood in need of the help of them all, having 1. a suite at Law of very great concernment to him; 2. a dangerous distemper or disease upon his body; 3. an house to build for his necessary accommodation; and in this posture of necessities, were necessitated or limited to make choyce of three men, but all of one and the same profession, either all Lawyers, or all Physicians, or all Architects, to minister unto him in all his respective concernments and necessities; I beleeve that under such a constellation of circumstances and occasions as these, though he be a man of farre greater judgement and reason, then the generalitie of men are, yet he would not find it so easie a matter to satisfie himself in the choyce of his men within the compasse of any one of the three professions. This is the true state and case of the difficultie of Parliamentarie Elections, upon Mr. Prymme's supposition of Parliamentarie interest and power.

4. Suppose yet further, that *unsanctified persons and rude multitudes* had skill enough to elect the most eminent and ablest men for Parliamentary service; yet who knoweth not but that there is somewhat (yea, much) more then knowledge of what is a mans du-

Sett. 58.

tie, required to make him willing to doe it. *To him that knoweth to doe good, and doth it not, to him it is sin* (saith James) *Jam. 4. 17.* It is no wayes reasonable to think, that *unfancified persons*, and men addicted to sinfull lusts and pleasures, should willingly and by the ducture of their own inclinations, put a power of making Lawes into the hands of such men, who they know are professed enemies to those lawlesse waies of theirs, and therefore are like, being interessed in such a power, to make Lawes for the restraint and punishment of them. That God, when he pleaseth, may by an extraordinarie hand of Providence, over-rule the natures and dispositions of men in this kind, and *serve unfancified persons* in their Parliamentary Elections, as he did the *Syrian* host of old, which he led blindfold into *the midst of Samaria*, when they thought they had been going to *Dothan*, is not denied; yea, it is acknowledged, that in grace and mercy to this Nation, he hath stretched out that very hand of Providence we speake of in the choyce of many members of the Honourable Assembly of Parliament; whose perseverance in a faithfull discharge of their imployment, declares, that their Election was more from God, then from men. Therefore that *one word* of Mr. Prynnes which follows p. 24. viz. That the *choyce which your vilest and most unworthy of men have made this Parliament, may for ever refute this childish reason, the corner stone of your Independent fabrique fastened together with Independent crotchets, unable to abide the Test; this one word* (I say) is no word either of reason or of truth. An happy election made by men over-acted by God in the action, doth no more prove either a proportionablenesse of wisdom, or a suitability of affection in such persons to make such a choyce, then that praise which God hath ordained, and which he accordingly draws out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, proves these babes and sucklings to be indued with a naturall strength and abilitie of yeelding such praise unto God: or then the service which the Ravens did the Prophet in bringing unto him bread and flesh duly morning and evening (^a), proves that they had a principle of reason and understanding, to know and to consider the necessities of godly and faithfull men; or that such men ought to renounce their estates and callings, and to depend upon Ravens for their sustenance. And besides, how doth the election of so many members of this Parliament, who stand by their

2 King. 6. 20.

(M) 1 King. 17.

6.

their trust with faithfulness and honour, more refuse; then the election of so many unworthy ones, who have not only turned their back, but head also upon both, confirm my reason? not to mention so many elections as have been made both in Queen *Maries* dayes, and many a time before these, of such members, who made many a Law as agreeable to the Word of God, as harp is to harrow. Which further shews, of how slender esteeme in point of truth, that assertion of his p. 23. is: where he saith, *that those that are unfit or unable to be Members of Parliament themselves, yet have had wisdom enough in all ages, and especially at this present, to elect the most eminent and ablest men for such a service.* So that if my pen were not more balshfull then Mr. *Prynne*, it would say, that the Reason Defendant is by many degrees more childish then the Reason Plaintiff: and that his *Presbyterian* engines wherewith he makes account to batter my *Independent Fabrick*, are made of *Independent* metall, able to do no execution at all. There is not one brick or tyle in all my *Independent Fabrick* as yet bruised, crack'd or shaken, by all the hot and loud play of Mr. *Prynnes* artillery against it. But

Self. 59.

5. Whereas in further prosecution of this last reason, he argues thus: *If the common people, which neither are, nor can be Parliaments, Emperours, Kings, Judges, Magistrates, Ministers, have yet a Lawfull power to make others such, by their bare election, & to give them such Authority and power as themselves never actually were, nor can be possessors of; then why by the self same reason may they not likewise delegate a Lawfull Ecclesiasticall Legislative Authoritie in Church affairs to their elected Parliamentary and Synodical members, which was never actually in themselves, as well as Mr. Goodwin delegate the power of determining who should be fit persons to receive the Sacrament, and to become members of his Independent Congregation, to eight select Substitutes, which was never actually vested in himself, nor transferible thus to others by any Law of God, or man?* I answer (passing by the Grammaticall illegality of the period)

1. That Mr. *Goodwin* never delegated the power he speaks of, of determining who, &c. to any Substitutes; but this delegation was made respectively by those, who had power, (yea haply and durie too) by the Law of God, and power sufficient by the Law of man, to referre themselves for matter of examination and triall touching their fitnessse for the Sacrament, unto persons of competent abilities for

for such a Christian service. Mr. Prynnes pen is (I think) the most unhappie and un-successefull in matters of impeachment and charge, that ever contested against the misdemeanors of men; it seldome or never lays the indictment right. Here he chargeth me with delegating such and such a power to eight *Substitutes*; a little after, that I have wilfully, yea and presumptuously undermined the undoubted priviledges of Parliament by the very roots: a little before, that I scandalously terme the Commonaltie of the Land, the vilest and most unworthy of men: not long before this (*viz.* pa. 21.) that I preach but seldome to my Parishioners: that I receive their tithes: that I gather an Independent Congregation to my self: that I prescribe a Covenant unto them before they be admitted members of it: that I preach to these alone, neglecting my Parishioners, &c. in all which suggestions and charges there is but one and the same proportion of love and truth.

2. Whereas he supposeth that the common people, by their bare election, give such an Authority and power, to Parliaments, Emperours, Kings, &c. as themselves never actually were, nor can be possessors of; he doth not (I conceive) speak like a man of his profession; certain I am, that he doth not speak the truth; no, nor yet the thoughts of men of learning and judgement in the point. For 1. (to reason the case a little in point of truth) if the common people were not actually possessed of that Authority and power, which by their election they give to Parliaments, Emperours, Kings, &c. I demand, how, or after what manner they were possessed of it? For in saying, they were not ACTIVALLY possessed of it, he supposes and grants, that they were some wayes or other possessed of it. No man excludes one speciall modification from a thing, but for the gratification of another. Now then if the common people were not ACTIVALLY possessed of that Authority and power which by their election they give unto Parliaments, Emperours, &c. they were onely potentially possessed of it. For actually and potentially, are opposita; yea and of that kind which they call *opposita immediata*. So that whatsoever is had or possessed by any, and not actually, must of necessity be had or possessed potentially, and potentially onely (at least in respect of an actual possession.) Now then I reason first thus: If the people have that power though not actually, yet potentially, which by their election they give to Parliaments, Emperours, Kings, &c. then are they capable of it even actually also; which yet Mr. Prynne
here

here plainly denies, in these words, *Nor can be possessours of.* The consequence is undeniable: For whatsoever any entire subject hath, or is, *potentiâ*; there is no impossibilitie but that it may have, or be, *actu*, or actually. So that Mr. Pryne is here upon the matter in an absolute contradiction. For he supposeth that the people may have that Authoritie or power *potentially*, which yet he saith is impossible they should ever have *actually*. Again, I would willingly for the bettering of mine understanding, know and learn, how any person, or other Agent whatsoever, can *actually* conferre that upon, or communicate that unto another, which it hath onely *potentially*, it self. Water, whilest it is *actually* cold, and onely *potentially* hot, cannot heat that which is put into it. Nor can a man that is *actually* ignorant of such or such a truth, and *potentially* onely knowing it, *actually* communicate or impart the knowledge thereof unto another, by vertue of that *potentiall* knowledge which he hath. No more can a people that is onely *potentially* possessed of any Authority or power, *actually* give or conferre it upon any, whether *Parliaments*, *Emperours*, *Kings*, &c. The ground of all such consequences as these, is that common principle or maxime in reason: *Modus operandi sequitur modum essendi*. Things that have but a weak or imperfect being themselves, cannot give strength or perfection of being unto others. But had Mr. Pryne said the body of a Nation have that authority really, virtually, eminently, and collectively, which they cannot have formally, distributively, and exemptively; I should have had the lesse to say unto him.

For the judgement of men learned in matters of this concernment; he that shall please to read the Discourse of *Christophorus Besoldus*, intituled, *Dissertatio Politico-Juridica de Majestate in genere*, &c. shall find a little Jurie of Lawyers joyning with him in the verdict of his judgement upon the case; the tenor whereof is, that there is not onely an Authoritie or power, but (that which is somewhat more) a majestie also in the people, which is coevall with the Republique or common-wealth it self; and which continues as long as the body thereof remains, yea and stands firm under all vacancies of Personall Empire, and all alterations and changes of Government: in which respect he saith it may be called the foundation or ground-work of the Common-wealth. This majestie in the people he calls, *Reall*; that in the King or chief Ruler, *Personall*: this he saith, still lasts and expires

pires with the death of the person invested with it; and returns to the people, or commonwealth. Yea and adds, that the people in making or setting up a King over them, *transfere onely a power of administering, not of constituting the common-wealth.* With more to like effect (a). Therefore the opinion of this man with his Associates clearly is, that the people have Really or actually, that Authority or power which by their election they transfer upon, or derive unto their Rulers and Governours.

(a) *Enqz (majestas) in Realem seu Imperialem (que in constituenda) & personalem, (que in administranda seu gubernanda Republica consistit) dividi videtur. Et mox: Majestas Realis seu Imperii, Republice est coepta; quamdiu corpus ejus durat, permanet: & etiam sub interregni & alterationibus persistit: quam idè fundamentum Republice possunt nominare. Personalis concidit cum personâ, & ad Rempublicam redit. Hujus majestatis Realis intuitu, etiam post Regiam Legem, populum Romanum aliquam retinuisse dicitur majestatem. S. 4. Inst. l. de publ. lud. c. l. 7. § penult. ibi: majestatem nostram. F. de captiv. & postum. l. 1. c. 3. vers. Lex autè Julia ibi. Majestatem publicam ad L. Juliam majest. Lex namq. Regia de personalem tantum majestatis translatione intelligi debet: ego in tract. de monarchia cap. 4. num. 4. ac transmissa solum per campopulum potestatem administrationis, non constitutionis. Et constat ex l. 2 §. 1. F. de Orig. Jur. administrationem Reipublice, non aliquam ultra, Imperatori datum esse. Christoph. B. Soldus, Dissertatio Politico-Juridica de Majestate, &c. Sect. 1. p. 5.*

3. (And lastly, for this) whereas he affirmeth, that such a power, as he supposeth to have been delegated by me to eight Substitutes, is not transferable to others by any Law of God or man; and yet demands, *Why the common people may not as well delegate a Lawfull Ecclesiasticall legislative Authoritie in Church-affaires unto their elected Parliamentarie and Synodall members, as I delegate such a power; I answer and confesse, that they may every whit as well (and no whit better) delegate such an Authoritie to such their members, as I delegate such a power to my Substitutes.*

Edi. 60.

6. Whereas in prosecution of his last argument, he further argues and interrogates thus; *Why may not a man bring an Ecclesiasticall or spirituall extraction out of a secular roote, as well as a Regall, Magisteriall, Parliamentall, Ministeriall extraction out of a meere popular or servile roote? or the best strong waters out of the vilest lees? the richest mineralls out of the conserst earth? the most Orient pearles, out of the basest Oysters?* I answer,

1. That no Regall, Magisteriall, Parliamentall, Ministeriall extraction can be made out of a meere servile roote. A people meere servile, can have no libertie or power to appoint or chuse unto themselves either Kings, Masters, Parliaments, or Ministers. Therefore Mr.

Prynns

Prynnes Question very truly imports, that the one *extraction* may as well be made, as the other; but it no waies proves a possibilitie of either.

2. There is a plain reason, why and how a *Regall, Magisteriall, Parliamentall extraction* may be made out of a popular roote: but there is a loud reclamation in reason and Religion both, against a possibilitie of making a *spirituall extraction* out of a secular roote. *Regall, Magisteriall, Parliamentall extractions*, are in their respective natures and tendencies, means proportioned to the civill and temporall ends, or good of the people; and God having endued men, (I meane the common sort or generalitie of men, *the people*) with wisdom and understanding to accommodate and provide for themselves in such things as these, hath given them power accordingly to make use of such principles and endowments in a regular way, for the accomplishment and obtaining of such ends. Now civill Rule and Government being a naturall, proper, and direct means, whereby a good societie or communite of men may best obtaine a civill or politique good, *viz.* a safe, just, and peaceable living and conversing together in the world; God therefore hath given them a libertie and power to contrive and cast themselves into what forme of Government they should judge most conducible to such ends. Upon which indulgence or grant from Heaven, they have a lawfull power by consent among themselves to elect and chuse whom they please to governe them, and that upon such terms, as they conceive most agreeable to those ends. And yet even in this Government it self, one communite or corporation of men have no right or lawfulnessse of power, to chuse or appoint either Government, or Governors over another: least of all hath any communite, consisting of men altogether uncivill, ignorant, and unexperienced in matters of Government, any lawfulnessse of power to appoint either Rule or Rulers over other Societies, whose members generally are of a better accomplishment, for civilitie, & parts of wisdom, learning, and understanding; But all societies of men since the dissolution of the Judaicall politie, are left free by God and nature, to set over themselves what Government and Governors they shall judge of best accommodation, for their temporall safety and peace. But now in spirituall things, and matters of Religion, the case is farre otherwise; differing as much from the former,

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mer, as the Heavens from the Earth. God hath not endued the generalitie of men with spirituall wisdom and understanding, nor with the knowledge of those things which are of a supernaturall concernment unto them; and consequently hath not invested them with any power of casting themselves into what forme of Government they please in respect of these, nor of chusing whom they please to rule over them, no nor yet of appointing upon what terms they will be governed in these. *The naturall man* (saith the Scripture) *perceiveth not* (or, *receiveth not*) *the things of the Spirit of God*; for they are foolishnesse unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned, 1 Cor. 2. 14. Now certaine it is, that the farre greater part of men in every State Politique or Kingdome, are naturall men, and consequently perceive not the things of the Spirit of God. Many are called, (saith our Saviour) but few chosen. And 2. as certaine it is, that God doth not interesse or invest any man or men, with a power of interpoling in such things, which are not of their cognizance, and whereof they have no knowledge or perceivance. Much lesse 3. hath he given a power to naturall men, who perceive not the things of the Spirit of God, to appoint Rulers and Governors in these, over men that are spirituall, and which doe perceive them. This were to give a power unto the blind, to lead not the blind onely, but even the seeing also. Nay, 4. and lastly, God hath not given unto spirituall men themselves any power to nominate or chuse men, to make any new Lawes or Articles in matters of Religion, Worship, Church-Government, &c. but onely to administer, execute and teach those, which are already ordained and established by God himself, as hath been prov'd already. Thus then we see there is reason enough and to spare, why such a spirituall extraction as the two Brethren speak of, cannot be made out of a secular roote; though a Regall, Magisteriall, Parliamentall extraction, may well be made out of a popular roote. But

3. Whereas Mr. Pryme supposeth that a Ministeriall Extraction (as he calleth it) is, or may be made out of a meer popular or servile roote, this supposition is not made without opposition to the truth. For no people or men, meerly such, that is, as they are simply people or men, have any power delegated unto them by God or by Christ, to set a Minister or Pastor over them; neither can they as meerly such, by any call, election, or ordination whatsoever, conferre a
Pastorall

Pastorall office or dignitie upon any man. The reason is, because it is an essentiall propertie or part of the Pastorall office, to feed, rule, and governe a flock of Christs sheep^(a), (I meane a Societie, or company of such persons, who in the judgement of charitie are to be reputed such) and to administer the scales of the Covenant ordinarily unto them, &c. Now no company of men, meerly and simply as men, have any power to invest any man, with any authoritative power to performe either of those administrations. One company or societie of men however qualified, cannot derive any Authoritative power upon any man, to performe the office of a Pastor to another societie of men. Therefore except that company of men, which calls and chuseth a person into the place or office of a Pastor (as it supposeth) be such a flock of Christ as was expressed, their act in so calling and chusing, is but a nullitie; the person called hath indeed and in truth no Pastorall investiture upon him by vertue of such a call. As for example; Suppose a company of ignorantly prophane, and desperately debauch'd men, should make choyce of a man of worth, to be a Pastor unto them; the man thus called and chosen, hath no authoritie or power hereby, either to feed or govern any flock of Christ, (no, not so much as any flock of Christ in appearance) or to administer the scales of the Covenant unto any; and consequently is made no Pastor thereby.

(^a) Act. 20. 28.
1 Pet. 5. 2.

Or if Mr. Prymme meaning be, that a roote meerly popular, that is, any company of people whatsoever, may lawfully call or chuse a man to preach the Gospel unto them, and in this sense be said to make a Minister; I answer; that the man thus called, is no more a Minister then he was before; nor hath he any more *Authoritative power* to preach the Gospel unto them, by vertue of such a call, then he had without it; onely he hath thereby a greater opportunity, and a more speciall invitation from the providence of God to preach the Gospel unto those who so call him, then unto others. Therefore in this case there is no ministeriall extraction made out of a mere popular roote.

4. Whereas he speaks parables, and further demands, *Why not a spirituall extraction out of a secular roote, as well as the best strong waters out of the vilest lees? the richest minneralls out of the coarsest earth? the most Orient pearles out of the basest Oysters?* I answer,

Seet. 61.

1. That I know not by what rule of true speaking, Mr. Prymme either

Mat. 2. 6.

either calls those the *basest oysters*, out of which the *most orient pearls*, or that the *coarsest earth*, out of which the *richest mineralls*, or those the *vilest lees*, out of which the *best strong waters* are extracted. That exprellion of the Poet, — *Veios habitante Camillo*, — *Ille Romæ fuit*, I never yet heard censured by any. Noble births and inhabitants, ennobled Cities and Countries. And thou Bethlehem in the Land of Juda, art not the least among the Princes of Juda: for out of thee shall come a Governor that shall rule my people Israel. By the consent of this principle, which hath testimony both from God and men, those are not the *basest*, but the *noblest oysters*, which give birth and breeding to the *most orient pearls*; nor that the *coarsest*, but the *finest and best earth*, that yeelds the *richest mineralls*; nor those the *vilest*, but the *most generous and best deserving lees*, which gratifie their Distillator with the *best strong waters*. But

2. (Not to impose any tax upon an *acyrologie*) there is this plain reason, why no *spirituall extraction* out of a *secular roote*, though all those other *extractions* may be made out of those respective *roots* appropriated unto them: because a man may very possibly find a thing where it is; but it is impossible for him to find it where it is not. A man may very easily and very lawfully *extract* five shillings out of his purse that hath five shillings, or more, in it: but he that shall undertake to make an *extraction* of five shillings, out of a purse that is empty, must *Acheronta movere*, make himself a debtor to the black art. The *pearle* is in the *oyster*, and the *minerall* in the *Earth*, and the *strong water* in the *lee*: and therefore it is no great matter for art and nature joyning together, partly by allurement and invitation, partly by a stronger and more forcible hand, to sequester all these from their native and proper elements, and to draw them out of their dark and secret habitations. Nor is it any waies unlawfull thus to practise upon them, because God hath not serv'd any prohibition upon men, to inhibit any such *extractions* or *separations*, either in a naturall or artificiall way. But there is no such *spirituall extraction* as the two Brethren speak of, in their *secular roote*: there is no Ecclesiasticall Legislative power in matters of Religion, worship, and Church-Government, neither formally, nor eminently, in *unsanctified persons*, *rude multitudes*, men ignorant of God, &c. therefore no such power can by any *extraction* whatsoever, proceed or be drawne out of these. There

is indeed a lawfulness of power in them (if they had a principle to incline them to the due exercise of it) to assist the servants of God against violence and wrong, to incourage and countenance them in well-doing, to admonish and reprove them for doing any such evill which falls within the compasse of their cognizance; yea, there is a lawfulness of power in them, if they have not given it out of their hands already, and invested others with it, to make Lawes for the regulation of the Saints themselves, in all their civill affaires, and to restraine them by mulcts and penalties from all such courses, actions, and practices, which are properly and in their natures disserviceable unto the common peace, and weal-publick: And all such power as this, they may lawfully devise, and denise unto persons meet for the manage and exercise of it; because in this case they doe but give of their own; yea, they give it in a regular and rationall way; upon which termes God hath given unto every man a liberty or power to *doe what he will* ^{as he pleaseth}. But the persons we now speak of, never had a power of regulating the Saints in their Religious or Spirituall affairs; or of compelling them under temporal mulcts and penalties, to order themselves in the worship and service of God, as they pleased, or to preach and teach onely such points and doctrines amongst them, as they should think well of. Therefore how they should convey or make over any such power as this unto others, by a Title or Conveyance good in Law, I desire Mr. Prynn to consider. If his desire had been to have paralleld the Brethrens *spirituall extraction out of a Secular root*, with naturall comparisons or similitudes, he should have done it not with those which hee hath made use of in this kind, or the like; for we have shewed a manifest and main disproportion in them; but with these, and such as these which follow: *Why not a spirituall extraction out of a Secular root*, as well as a man out of a mouse, or of water out of a flint, or of the element of fire out of the midit of the Sea? He might rationally enough have argued and concluded here; *Why not the one as well as the other?* But

4 Mat. 10.15,

5. Whereas his Margine demandeth, *Why not a spirituall extraction out of a secular root, as well as himselfe extracts many spiritual doctrines out of Gamaliels Secular speech?* My answer is, that hee hath made this demand at the perill of his owne reputation in what he had

had said but in the former page, where he supposeth, that God poured out a spirit of prophesie upon Gamaliel, as hee had formerly done upon Balaam and Saul. If Gamaliel spake as the spirit of prophesie which was poured out upon him, gave him utterance, his speech was not secular, but spiritual and divine. And

2. Suppose there was no spirit of prophesie upon Gamaliel, when he spake that speech, from which I extract my Doctrines; yet the speech it selfe, being for the matter, tenor, and substance of it, nothing but what is fully agreeable to the undoubted word of God elsewhere, (which I clearly demonstrate, in the particular doctrine handled in those Sermons) it is not to be reputed Secular, though the person speaking it had been Secular; but Divine, because the matter of it being a truth of Divine revelation elsewhere, is Divine. This saying, Jesus Christ is the *Sonne of God*, or the *holy One of God*, is not therefore a Devilish saying, because the Devill spake it, but an holy or divine saying or sentence, because the truth contained in it, which is the matter of it, is from God.

But 3. the person speaking it was Ecclesiasticall, a Doctor of the Law, Acts 5. 34.

4. And lastly, it was about matters of the Church, and so Ecclesiasticall also.

6. Whereas in the context of the same margine, hee calls my principall Argument (as he call it) drawn from the *non-jurisdiction of the seven Churches of Asia one over another, a most Independencie*, giving this for the ground or reason of this so severe an award, that these Churches were under different civill Dominions, and not members of the selfe-same Christian Republicke; I answer,

1. That why he should call this my principall Argument, which I doe not so much as mention, nor make any argument at all (as least in those Sermons againe which his pen riseth up in this discourse with so much indignation) I am behind hand in my understanding. I suppose he would willingly make that my principall Argument, from the dirt whereof he knowes how to contrive some plausible evasion and escape. It was an wholsome admonition of Austin long since, *That we are very inclinable and prone, rather to seeke out how to answer or evade those things which are brought to refute our error, then to minde that which is wholsome, that so wee may be free from error.* But

a Mark. i. 24.
Luke 4. 34.

a Procliviores
sumus quere-
re potius, quid
contra ea re-
spondeamus, -
que nostro ob-
jiciuntur erro-
ri, quam in-
tendere ea que
sunt salubria,
ut careamus
errore.

2. If that be a reason, why the Churches in Asia had no jurisdiction on one over another, because they were not members of the selfe-same Christian Republicke; then neither had the Church of Jerusalem either divisim, and by it selfe, nor yet conjunctive with others, any power of jurisdiction over the Church of Antioch. For neither were their Churches members of the selfe-same Christian Republicke, no nor yet any other Churches in the Apostles dayes, there being then no Christian Republick in the world.

3. Neither can I well understand how the seven Churches of Asia should be under different civill dominions, when as one and the same man had power to command that all the world should be united, Luke 2. 1. Certain I am, that Mr. Pryn doth not befriend either his owne exception, or my understanding so farre, as to inform what these different civill dominions were; or under what or whose dominion every or any of these Churches did respectively consist. The consideration whereof moderately inclines me to conceive, that he put this peece of his answer to the making, and affirmed it onely *de bene esse*, that the seven Churches of Asia were under different civill dominions. Is it not much more probable, that the Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch, which yet by the Assertors of Presbytery, are generally and with importune confidence made confederate in Classique association, were under different civill dominions? Considering, 1. that their Cities were two hundred miles distant one from the other (a distance greater almost by an hundred miles, then any two of the seven Churches of Asia stood one from the other, as will appear presently.) And 2. that Judea was an intire Province by it self, & Luke 3. 1. is said to have been under the government of Pontius Pilate. So that subjection under different civill dominions, is not like to have been any obstruction in the way of those Asian Churches, to impede their Presbyteriall conjunction, had they felt the weight either of divine institution, or of any Christian accommodation of their respective affaires, lying upon them for the ingaging themselves in it.

4. And lastly, some that seeme to have perfect knowledge of those parts where these seven Churches with their respective Cities stood, affirme that some of them were not situate above twelve miles distance from some others of them; and that the greatest distance between any two of them, was not above an hundred and twenty

twenty miles, which is not the one half of the distance between many Churches in this Kingdom. So that had the Presbyteriall combination or subordination of Churches been an ordinance of God, there is little question to be made, but that these Churches with their respective Angels, especially under such an opportunity, would have subjected themselves unto the will of God in this behalfe, and not have remained single and uncombined in their government, as they did.

If it be objected, they were times of persecution; wee answer, So were they afterward, when (as men of the Presbyterian way suppose) they had Presbyteries; and after that when they had Episcopall government. This hath been the case of the Protestants in France, where they now have, & constantly have had, a Presbyterial government. So it is of the Papists in England, where they have had ever since the Reformation, a Papall jurisdiction. And to speak to the particular, so was it a time of persecution against the Presbyterial government in Queen Elizabeths time, and yet it was then exercised in severall places of this Kingdom. See Rogers Preface to his Analysis of the Articles of Religion.

Sec. 64.

6. Whereas he seemes to require a reprieve for his opinion, onely till *Independents* can shew him better grounds against it, then any yet produced; and informe him why our representative Church and State should not of right enjoy and exercise as great or greater Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction over all particular persons and Churches, who are members of our Church and Realm, as any Independent Minister or Congregation challenge or usurp unto themselves over their own members, &c. My answer is,

1. That now I trust he will willingly surrender his opinion into the hand of Justice, and plead no further for it. First, because though haply there have been *no better grounds produced* in this discourse against it, then have been formerly in others; yet I cannot but conceive and judge, that *better arguments and grounds against it*, have been here produced, then Mr. Pryme hath had either the happinesse or opportunity to meet with elsewhere; especially considering partly the frequency of his complaint, that *Independents have given little or no account of their way* in writing; partly that it is a thing hardly consistent with Mr. Pryns abilities, being sweetned with so much ingenuity, not to see and acknowledge the delinquencie

quencie of such an *opinion*, in whose condemnation so full a Jury of the first borne principles as well of Reason as Religion, as hath been here impannelled, doe conspire. And secondly, because *Information* hath been given him again and again (and more particularly in the eighth Section, page 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. of this discourse) *why our whole representative Church and State*; (though I doe not clearly understand what he meanes by *our Representative Church* in this place) but why the Parliament and Synod should not exercise as great or greater Ecclesiastical jurisdiction over particular persons & Churches within the Realme, &c. as an Independent Minister AND Congregation (for his disjunctive particle, *Or*, turnes him quite out of the way of his question) *may exercise over their owne members*. But

2. Whereas he states the question thus: Whether *our Representative Church and State*, may not exercise as great or greater Ecclesiastical jurisdiction over, &c. as an Independent Minister or Congregation challenge or USURP unto themselves over their own members; My answer is, that doubtlesse they may; one unrighteous or unjust thing, may be as lawfully done as another every whit as unrighteous and unjust as it. For Mr. Pryme may please to take knowledge, that Independent Ministers and Congregations doe not usurp any power at all unto themselves over their own members, that is, over themselves; but onely administer that regular and lawfull power over and amongst themselves, which every of their respective members have naturally and freely given one to another, and every particular member unto the whole body, over it selfe, and that as well for its own benefit and behoofe, as for the benefit and good of the whole body. And lawfull (questionlesse) it is (yea matter of duty) for every man to give such a power of; or over himself, unto others, which he hath sufficient ground either from the Scriptures, or reason otherwise, to conceive and expect that it will be administered for his good; especially having ground to conceive yet further, that this act of his, in thus submitting himselfe unto others, will according to the ordinary course of Providence and experience, be of Christian accommodation unto others also for their good. Submitting yourselves one to another in the feare of God, Eph. 5. 21. which submission doubtlesse ought so farre to extend, as in reason it may accommodate, or promote the edification and spirituall

spirituall good, both of the persons by whom, and to whom it is made. And by the same reason it is no *usurpation* in those, to whom the submission is made, to administer or exercise that power which is committed unto them, according to the regular intentions of those who have given it: yea, such an administration of it as this, is so farre from being an *usurpation*, that a non-administration of it upon such terms, would be a very unchristian prevarication both with God and men. Therefore

7. (And lastly, to conclude) Whereas Mr. Prymme *refers me to the High Court of Parliament, either to crave their pardon, or to undergoe their justice, for my Anti-parliamentarie passages, &c.* I shall request no other favour of this most honourable Court, then that I may stand right and streight in their opinions, and be respited from censure onely so long, till my Accuser shall make good his charge against me by sufficient evidence and prooffe; and substantially answer and refute this my Apologeticall plea. When the light of this day of darknesse shall dawne upon me, I shall willingly submit unto his demand, and either *crave the Pardon of that Honourable and High Court* he speaks of, or otherwise *undergoe their justice*: in the meane season I presume he will subscribe my Petition for a reprieve, as just and equall. And if the result of his more serious thoughts shall be, to resume and prosecute the bill of indictment which he hath preferr'd against me; my earnest request unto him is, as well for his own ease and convenience, as mine, 1. That he will not argue from pluralities, but pertinences of Scriptures; and shew how, and wherein every Text alledged, according to the genuine sense and ratioll dependance of the words, stands by him in what he intends to prove from it. And 2. that he will not place the strength and confidence of his cause, either in humane Authorities, humane practises, statutes or ordinances of men, excepting onely such, whose truth, justice and equitie he shall first demonstrate either from the word of God; and that not by Texts barely cited, chapter and verse, though in never such abundance; but thoroughly argued, and examined upon the matter in question; or els from found principles of reason and equitie, managed in a cleare and ratioll way, and so drawne up to a faire compliance with the conclusion, seeking testimony and prooffe from them. For otherwise, what sayings, doings, Lawes or Ordinances of men soever shall be produc'd

produc'd or insisted upon, for confirmation or prooffe of any thing; it will be sufficient to Answer, that men as wise, as just, as vertuous as they, have both said and done, things neither true nor meet to be done; and have made Lawes and Statutes of no better constitution; yea, and have been of a contrary opinion to Mr. Prymme in the particular questioned: which made *Augustine* often decline that way of reasoning, as we reade in his 48. Epistle, and elsewhere. Thirdly and lastly, that he would put lesse vinegar and gall into his inke, and more wooll or cotton: or (in the Apostles words, *Eph. 4. 31.*) that *all bitterness and evill speaking be put away, and that we follow the truth in love,* and language that becometh Brethren.

This treble request I make unto him with much earnestnesse and importunitie upon the supposition aforesaid, because I had much rather yeeld, might I do it upon honourable and Christian terms, then to be put to take the field yet againe. As for any opinion held by me, when once I perceive that it will not make knowledge, I am ready to give the right hand of fellowship unto any man in casting it out as unfavoury salt upon the dunghill. I never yet thought my self (nor I hope ever shall) such a debtor unto error, as to sacrifice my time, paines, occasions, credit, conscience, upon the service of it. But unto Mr. Prymme I shall willingly acknowledge my self a debtor, if he will either acquit me of my crime by silence, or deliver me from my error by his pen.

F I N I S.

THE
MUSEUM
OF
THE
CITY
OF
NEW
YORK



1875

Numb. 85

(275)

2



The last petition of the Archbishop to the House of Commons, wherein upon it is concluded that he shall be beheaded on Tower-hill on Friday next. Pemfret Church in Yorkshire taken by the L. Fairefax his forces, and a battery raised against the Castle. Also the besieging of Sandall Castles, Boston Castle, and other Garrisons of the enemy in that County. The taking of the Princes troops consisting of 80. horse by Col. Martin Governour of Alesbury his forces, and some other services performed by him against the enemy. Three thousand horse and Dragoones of the enemy came to Petersfield in Sussex.

Mercurius Civicus. LONDON INTELLIGENCER

OR,

Truth impartially related from
thence to the whole Kingdome,
to prevent mis-information.

From Thursday January 2. to Thursday January 9. 1644.



I being my intention rather to search out the naked Truth (as neer as is possible) then to study Rhetoricall flourishes; I shall accordingly neither at this time nor hereafter run into any unnecessary preambles, but according to my wonted Method, pretermittting (as much as I can) what hath bin imparted by others) present you with such affaires of concernment

Qq qq

cernment, as I have from time to time received from the most approved and knowing hands.

The last weeke I gave you an account of the beheading of Capraine *Horham* on Tower-Hill with the particular passages thereof, and of his confession. The day following Thursday *January 2.* His Father Sir *John Horham* was also beheaded, the particulars of his confession being already mentioned by others, I shall say the lesse: which shall be onely this: That his carriage was more humble and penitent then his sonnes, yet both (although proofes as cleere as the Sunne, as I formerly shewed you, were brought against them) stood upon their innocency of the matters they suffered for. At Sir *John Horham's* Execution much time was spent in prayer by Mr. *Peters* who was then present with him and himselfe especially, who (it was observed) had great expectations of a reprieve and did not pick off his doublet till he was certified by a private Messenger that there was no hopes thereof.

A confident report hath beene this weeke raised (by I know not whose invention.) that Sir *Alexander Carew's* Lady died in child-bed shortly after his execution; which for certaine is otherwise, and she yet living and in health.

On Saturday last, *January 4.* (That day three yeares His Majesty came in person to the house of Commons with Armed men to surprize the five worthy members of Parliament, which if it had taken effect, we had now been under the tyranny of the Bishops and Papists;) Two very observable passages hapned in Parliament, which will much tend to the disadvantage of both Papists and Prelats, *viz.*

1. The house of Peeres passed the ordinance of Parliament for attainting the Archbishop of Canterbury of high Treason, and that he doe suffer the paines of death accordingly.

2. The Lords then likewise concurred with the house of Commons in the amendments of the Directory for worship and ordinance for the taking away of the Booke of *Common Prayer* therewith joyned, which are now both sent into Scotland, and order is taken for the Printing of them upon their bringing back from thence.

A great party of the Cavaliers came lately into Chipping-Norton where they quartered for some space, and at their going thence,

to shew their impartiality (though there was but one Roundhead in the Towne); they plundered every house therein of whatsoever was of value, and took 200 Sheepe and above 400 pounds in money from one man. Malignants you may see what usage you are likely to have from your good friends; as you like their Dealings with these and others of your judgement in other places so desire their approach; and not otherwise. But there is one thing I would further mention concerning Chipping-Norton, which is, that care may bee taken to examine what is done with all the Flax and Tow which hath beene conveyed that way by the Carrier thereof.

Out of the West wee had intelligence Tuesday last, That our Parliaments Ships on the Western Coasts have lately taken a ship which was going from Exeter to Mr. *Saint-Hill* a Merchant at Ligonrie laden with Perpetuana's to the value of two and twenty thousand pounds, which is no despicable prize. As for the report of the taking of 16 Marchant ships which were going from Bristol by Captain *Swamy* I shall not communicate the relation till I can have better grounds to give credence thereunto then yet I can obtaine.

Plymouth is yet (blessed be God) in a good condition and the Island of St. *Nicholas* safe (in case they were much straightned by the enemy by land which they are not, there being not above 1500 of the enemy neere) they could easily have reliefe from the Isle of Wight and our Garrisons of Lynce, Poole and Weymouth by Sea.

There have beene severall complaints made lately by the inhabitants of the hither parts of Buckinghamshire, Hampshire and Berkshire concerning the quartering of the Parliaments forces in too great numbers amongst them, whereby they are wholly deprived of their store of Corne and other provisions: whereupon the Parliament and the Committee of both Kingdomes have sent severall commands for their removall into other parts neere the enemy, and on Tuesday last, *January 7.* Major Generall *Craford* was to be sent downe to Bedford to order the affaires of the E. of Manchester's Army.

I have lately scene at the presse a booke written by that learned and laborious Gentleman *W. P. Esq.* Intituled; *Deeds of darkness brought to publike light, or, an introduction to the History of the Trial*

of the *Archbishop of Canterbury*: Wherein there is contained a full and exact discovery of the designs of the Jesuits and Popish party to introduce the vassalage of the Pope into these three Kingdomes, manifested by severall letters, manuscripts and printed papers found in the studies of Secretary *Windebank*, Mr. *Tho. Windebank*, the *L. Cottington* the Archbishop of Canterbury, and divers others. It would by this time have bin ready for publike view, had it not hapned that there have bin divers letters of consequence lately intercepted which more lively unmaske the designs of the popish and prelatie party, and will represent them in their owne portraictures: whereby also it will fully appeare that the Jesuiticall designs have bin as active and stirring against England (since the late new-elected pope as ever before,) The particulars are of such concernment as will eminently demonstrate by what counsell His Majesty is guided, and much conduce to the convincing of any Malignants that have any sparke of reason left in them.

Concerning the Archbishop of Canterbury, both houses of Parliament passed an order on Munday last, to this effect; *That whereas William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury is attainted of high treason by both houses of Parliament, it is ordered, that on Friday next the Lieutenant of the Tower of London do deliver the said Archbishop into the custody of the Sheriffs of London, who are to see the Execution of Justice upon him performed according to the sentences of the Parliament, on Friday next.*

His sentence was to be drawne, hang'd, and quartered which if accordingly performed will be the full accomplishment of his owne fatalldreame at Oxford, (the former part whereof hath been long since really verified,) lately attested from his owne mouth at his triall in the Lords house, the sum whereof is: *That when he was a young Scholler in Oxford he dreamed one night that he came to far greater preferment in the Church, and power in the State then ever any man of his birth and calling did before him; in which greatness and worldly happinesse he continued many years. But after all this happinesse before he awaked he dreamed he was hanged.*

There is a Court martiall to be held in Essex-house on Thursday next Jan 9. upon some speciall occasions concerning the L. Generals army as may appeare by this following summons under his Excellencies own hand.

I Doe hereby will and require all Officers of my Army both of horse and foot to attend the Court martiall in Essex house at two of the clock on Thursday next in the afternoone, as they will answer their neglect herein.

Dated this 7 of Janu. 1644.

ESSEX.

On Tuesday last, Janu. 7. there was a Conference between both houses of Parliament, at which the Lords gave severall reasons why they could not concur with the Commons in passing the great Ordinance for the disabling any member of either house from having any civill or military imployment. The heads of their exceptions were: 1. Because no particular exception is given against any man, and they conceived that some particular Commanders might be spared from their constant attendance in the house, for the publique service. 2. That it hath been alwaies the honour of the Peers of this Realme in all former ages to have the chiefe places of trust and command in the Armies and that (as appeared in the Chronicles of this Kingdome) many of them had sacrificed their lives in defence of the common priviledges and liberties of the subject. That they were bound by the last protestation to defend the true protestant Religion, his Majesties honour, the liberty of the subject, and the priviledges of Parliament, with their lives and fortunes; which they could not so fully performe if they were utterly disabled from command upon any occasion. That such an alteration was likely to produce much destruction and confusion. And further desired, that if there were any Commanders or Officers (members of either house) against whom any just exception could be taken, they might be removed: and that it might be referred to the Committee of both Kingdomes to take such further course therein as should be most for the advancement of the publique service, and for the safety of both Kingdomes.

Unto all which exceptions it is not doubred but the house of Commons will speedily give a satisfactory answer to their Lordships. In the meane time it were too high a presumption for any private person to anticipate or prevent them therein.

At the same Conference also a Lettett from the Archbishop of Canterbury, directed to the Lord Gray of Warke, Speaker of the house of Peeres *pro tempore*, together with a petition to the Lords,

and

and a Pardon from the King for his life was read: this pardon appeared upon the reading to beare date in April was twelve moneth: Which pardon will prove no more efficacious then if (as the report was about Town on munday last) he had had a pardon from his unholinesse the Pope, The substance of his Petition was, that if there were no way to escape, but that he must suffer with his gray haire: he humbly desired, that Dr. *Sterne*, Dr. *Heywood*, Dr. *Martin*, (three most notorious delinquents, and all imprisoned) might have liberty to visit him and to give him ghostly counsell for the good of his soule.

Upon debate of the Archbishops request in his petition, the Lords consented to his petition, for the three Divines, and that instead of being drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd, he might be beheaded. It was onely agreed upon by the house of Commons for Dr. *Sterne*, with whom Mr. *Marshall* and Mr. *Herbert Palmer* or either of them were appointed to goe and alwaies to be present with Dr. *Sterne*. The Archbishop (it seemes) further certified by a friend, that one of his ham-strings was broke, so that he could not clime a Ladder, and therefore desired that he might not be hanged: some other reasons were urged, but it was resolved upon the question, That he should suffer as a Traitor, according to the former Order.

Saturday last an Ordinance was presented to the house of Commons, and once read, for the appointing of certaine daies for Apprentices, laboures, and servants, to refresh themselves on, the time propounded by the Ordinance is the second Thursday in every moneth, whereon they may recreate and exercise themselves in military actions or other lawfull recreations, from ten of the clock in the morning till five in the afternoone. With a proviso, That if any servant or labourer doe on the daies appointed for recreation abuse themselves by excesse in drinke, &c. that then they shall not only be punished, but be debarred from the benefit of recreation on those daies for one whole yeere after.

For the businesse of the Treaty I shall in the next place give you an account of the state thereof, and of the forwardnesse of the Parliaments proceedings therein:

1. The place appointed for treaty is Uxbridge.
2. The persons are, foure of the house of Peeres; eight of the house

house of Commons; and foure Scotch Commissioners, who are to meet the like number from the King.

3. For the matters first to be treated on, they are these: 1. That the government of the Church may be settled by an act of Parliament, and for that purpose to consult with the Assembly of Divines, and to endeavour the neereſt conjunction and uniformity in matters of religion, as after consultation had with the Divines of both Kingdomes shall be agreed upon; and that the same be confirmed by act of Parliament of both Kingdomes. 2. That an act of Parliament may be passed, to annull the cessation with Ireland, and all other Treaties with the rebels, and to settle the prosecution of the war with Ireland to be managed by the joynt advice of both Kingdomes, and the King to assist them therein. 3. That by an act the subjects of the Kingdome of England may be appointed to be armed, trained, and disciplined, and the Militia and Navy and all forces by Sea and Land, to be settled for the security of both Kingdomes.

4. For the manner: 1. That a safe conduct be granted on both sides. 2. That for a more speedy end to be made herein, it shall be concluded within 20 daies. 3. That within the time his Majesty deliver in what he hath to propound to the Parliament either concerning the propositions or otherwise. 4. That the Commissioners of both Kingdomes shall have power to receive the propositions from the King, and send them to both houses of Parliament, and from them to receive instructions for their proceedings therein.

Out of Buckinghamshire it is advertised, that Col. *Martin* Governour of Alesbury having intelligence of the Princes troope being quartered within some few miles thereof, sent forth a party, who fell upon them in their quarters, and tooke them all being 80 horse and men compleatly armed. Also, that the same party in their return fell upon the enemy in another town where they quartered, and tooke 30 horse. Which if the relation hold, will make part of amends for our late losse at Salisbury.

One passage more concerning the Archbishop of Canterbury, and then we have (certainely) done with him.

On Wednesday, *January* 8. the house of Commons (having the day before concluded, that the Archbishop of
Canterbury

Canterbury should be hanged, according to the sentence before mentioned,) yet upon a most humble Petition of the Archbishop, wherein he did not desire the Parliament for his life, but only that he might not die that death, by hanging by the neck, in that he was once a member of the Parliament, and some other reasons, the house of Commons concurred with the Lords, that he should be beheaded on Friday next, and then the Sheriffs of London should see him executed in that manner accordingly.

The same day also the house of Commons tooke into consideration the exceptions (that the Lords sent down the day before) unto the great Ordinance for displacing of Members, and voted, That they would notwithstanding adhere to their former resolution therein, and gave many reasons for their dissent from the said Exception.

The house had then also intelligence, That a party of between three and 4000 of the enemies horse and Dragooners were come unto Petersfield in Sussex: by which we may see how great necessity there is of settling affaires in the Army, and what advantage the enemy takes by any retarding therein.

Out of Yorkshire we have certaine advertisement, That the Lord *Fairesfax*, his forces have taken Pomfret Church, and raised a battery against the Castle: as also that they have besieged Sandall Castle, Boston Castle, and other strong Garrisons in that County. So that the affaires of the parliament in the North are in great forwardnesse.

FINIS.

London, Printed for *Thos. Bates* at the signe of the *Mayden-head* on *Snow-hill* neere the *Conduitt*. And *1773* in the *Old-bally*, 1644.


Numb. 31.

THE PARLIAMENT SCOUT:

Communicating His Intelligence
TO THE
KINGDOME.

From Thursday the 2. of Ianua. to Thursday the 9. of January. 1645.

Thursday the 2. of January.

WAs the day upon which Sir *John Hotham* lost his life, it is usuall for people to be very inquisitive what end men make, and what are the dying words of men: as if the actions or expressions in extremity, were characters by which the man might be judged; when the feares are great, the spirit is not at other times, he that was afraid to be drown'd, promised if he came safe to land, to offer a wax candle to the Virgin *Mary*, as big as the *Maine-mast*, but come to land, bought one of foure and twenty in the pottid, and said, she should be content with that. The father seemed to be very penitent, and no doubt he was so, the son bespattered the Parliament, and in them himself, and so defiled his own nest; how ever they departed, we shall do the dead no wrong, but desire the living to let these mens harmes make them beware.

...H h h h

...We

We had this day newes, that 2. Regiments of the Kings horse are gone Westward; and in particular, one of the Regiments is gone towards *Winchester*, to quarter in that City, in favour of the Castle, that Castle that we took once, and did not fortifie, by these horse they will fetch in contribution many miles, and not onely for themselves, but for the Castle, preserve their Regiment against the spring, upon the more properly called our quarters, another party is gone to *Blanford*, these will awe our Garrisons in *Dorsetshire*, and straiten them, and hinder contributions, so that if we advance not with a competent body of horse to our severall Garrisons, and those of equall number at least to the enemy, we shall be loofers; and here give us leave to tell what we heare: *viz.* in those parts which are most properly called His Majesties, a competency for horse, and men, is to be had, and that it may be so, they are in continuall motion, but where ours come, they dwell so long, untill nothing is left, but we heare we do not now do so.

The house of Commons have made a good progresse to the content of the Scots, whom they before *Newarke* sollicite to have a supply of foot from, but so as the pay masters may grow rich upon it, as in *Holland*, with a many more excellent good benefits is begun to be considered of, and so if Treaty end not our troubles, we shall see at spring an army well disciplined.

The business of new molding our Army, as to number, constant pay, that they may pay for what they take, that the charge be reduced, that if we must have a longer war, it may not be with the consumption of friend and foe.

Friday the 3. of January.

The Lords insisted upon the business of Treaty, presented to them from the Committee of both Kingdomes, agreed on it, and sent it to the house of Commons; Its to this effect,

That His Majesties loyall Subjects, the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament at Westminster, have considered of His Majesties Message for a happy Peace, sent by the Duke of Richmond and Earle of Southampton, and do humbly offer in answer thereto, that the place of treaty be the Towne of *Vxbridge*, that they intend to send foure Lords, and eight Commons, and some of the Commissioners of Scotland, and desire that His Majesty alike number, and that they desire that the Proposition as to matters of Religion, and that of sending the Militia be first insisted upon, and determined in twenty dayes after the first sitting, and as to His Majesties Propositions, intimated by His Messengers, they have appointed that they be by those that by Parliament shall be appointed to treat, sent to them to Westminster from *Vxbridge*.

Thus

Thus we see a quick and faire ground work, tending to a happy Peace, as to the number of attendants there is no question, but there will be a proviso, and also an inhibition of others, for otherwayes there may be many interruptions, to the great disservice of the publique, and not only in hindering the treaty, but also in fomenting the difference to an endles and irreconcilable war.

This day the Lords sent down the Directory, having made two or three small alterations only, so that that work we believe will suddenly come to publique view: We wish it may content all parties, that so all differences as to the manner, may be composed, and we may go on hand in hand, and we pray also that the people of *England* may not rest in this forme, and thinke that discipline is Religion, and Presbiterie or Independency is godlinesse, a disease almost universall through Christendom, but that we may adde to this shell, or sheath, or barke, or superficies of Religion, the power of godlinesse, holy life, &c, which is as far surpassing the other, as the kernell the shell, the knife the sheath, the tree the barke, or the soul the carcasse.

From abroad we were informed, that the party we mentioned in our last, that went from *Abingdon* to fall upon *Besselsich* house, that they at *Oxford* had plaist 2 or 300. musqueteers in, was taken, the Garrison either prisoners or gone back to *Oxford*, but the particulars were not known, they in *Oxford* perceiving our intention, prepared a party to relieve it, and beat ours, but though but five miles off, they either wanted intelligence, or a will, and so came too late: it is probable they were busy with the Lieutenant that should have helped Colonell *Brown* to surpris the guard, and so take *Oxford*, or as much as they could of it, who they have made short work with, and already executed, or else they were over intent in their expectations of a returne from the Parliament of Westminster concerning the treaty, which also they talke much of.

And yet as much as they talke of it, they are not slack in their preparations against spring, for besides what is gone West before mentioned, the Lord *Hopton* fortifies strongly the *Devices*, and that done, intends to have a strong convoy to fetch Armes and Money, which comes in plenty to *Bristoll*, that *Bristoll*, which why we have not, as to receiving any thing from sea, make unserviceable, we know not: there is a story that Queen *Elizabeth* would by no means give way to the taking or spoyling the Harbour and Towne of *Dunkirke*, because then she said her sea men would grow slugs, and scarce carry a gun to Sea.

Likewise they strengthen more and more *Sherborne* house, and have empied *Oxford* of all but the Garrison: have sent out severall loads of

Ammunition; recruited while we stand looking on, to 2000. foot 10. Pieces of Ordinance: 2000. yea some say more horse, and besides these who its now beleevd will suddenly move: there is a party gone again towards *Easum* under the command of the Lord *Gowring*, and Sir *John Digby* the Papist.

From *Abingdon* we here that the horse there, do so disturbe the enemies horse quarters on that side *Oxford* next them, that they are forst to remove to the other side.

That the Engynere that discovered the plot, by which the surprize of the guard was discovered, was taken in the house Colonel *Brownes* men took, so that he will undoubtedly receive according to his merit, harme watch, and harme catch.

We also here that 200. horse from about *Newport Panell*, fell upon a quarter of the enemy about *Kidlington*, tooke 30. horse and 10. prisoners.

The house of Commons we heare, have received from the Assembly an Ordinance for dayes of recreation, which a week or two since we hinted the necessity of: the Ordinance sets down the second *Thursday* of every moneth, it were to be wished *Monday* were the day, because then *Sunday* cloathes need not be laid up, besides a *Monday* is the Masters preparing day for the servants labour the week following, and then for the servant to play is best, but the matter is not very great. The time is to be from ten in the morning to five at night, which to exceed, is a transgression, and if any be disordered with drink; they are not to have a play day more that year: we hope somewhat of fine will be imposed upon the Master if he withhold the time from his servant. This will much incline the people to part with more willingly their superstitious holy dayes, observed as dayes of prime worship, and high Masse: but after made sporting dayes.

Saterday the 3 of January.

THE Commons agreed to the alterations in the Directory, and the Lords also concurred, so that theres the old Liturgy gone, oh my Lord of *Canterburies* corrected Common-prayer book this day recieved its sentence.

The Lords not willing to part the refiner and his mettle, did likewise find the Ordinance against my Lord of *Canterbury*, and sentenced him to die the death of a Traitor, that had indeavored to subvert the Religion, Liberties, and Parliaments of *England*: it remains now that they be both executed and interred together.

And now that the Law hath past upon him, we will not any more say
he

he was the worst Member, that ever the Kingdom of England bred, but that England and Scotland hath been more beholding to him, then to all the men in England, and Scotland, and thus we prove it; he that so violently forst in upon the Kingdom of England and Scotland Popery, and Tyranny, that he made both Kingdoms bethink themselves of rooting out Popery and prelacy, and to recover and enlarge Liberties; he that by labouring to destroy Parliaments, hath made the Subjects indeavour the recovery of the ancient Liberties and Priviledges of Parliament, viz. not to be nulled at the pleasure of a Bishop, or a Chaplaine Royall, but to abide till the affairs of the Kingdom be settled, and to be called in despite of Popery, and Prelacy; he hath been the best friend that ever England or Scotland had, but this hath his Grace of Canterbury been, *Ergo.*

Monday the 5. of January.

WE had a sad story from the West, its but the losse of the best part of Col. *Ludlows* Regiment, a brave Regiment it was, as appears by the severall charges they made against 1200. of the enemies horse, and had they been but any thing equall, they had gone neer to have overcome them, but being over charged back by so great a number, they were constrained to flie; and as some letters say, not above 30. escaped in a body; we hope many that shifted for themselves, will get to the rest after some dayes: we hear also that a great party of the enemy, some say 7. others 6000. horse and foot, are come neer Winchester: whether the coming of these will call back our Regiments, viz. the Kentish and others, that went one after another, from Petersfield Westward, time will shew.

The Lords this day had the alteration of a word or two in the Directory, sent from the house of Commons, which they agreed unto, and so it was to have been Printed, but because it was to be sent to the Kingdom of Scotland, by some of the Clergy of that Kingdom now here, the Printing was suspended, they also agreed upon the warrant for my Lord of Canterbury suffering Friday next.

The Commons desired a conference about the great Ordinance (having before sent two or three times to have it hastened) its supposed that this businesse is expedition from the forwardnesse of his Majesties forces now, not only bravely recruited, but marching, and if any shall think us Malignant, because we tell of his Majesties forces, their increase, and being well appointed; they must know, that those that say they are not considerable, not well Armed, not well horsed; merit that name more, because that way deceives, to say they be lesse, & unarmed: we have talked them few, & found them many too often; sure he did better, that used to incourage his souldiers by telling them that their enemies were valiant, strong, and

numerous; then *Augustus*, that made them few, despicable, excrement of prisons, Plowmen, and the like, when he was to encounter *Anthony*.

The brave Regiment of horse, of that brave Colonell *Rossiter*, 1000, in number, and the other of Coll. *Fleetwoods*, we hear have extended their quarters as far as Oundell in Northamptonshire, no doubt it was in wisdom to waite the enemies approach, if he should draw from Banbury toward the Association, we believe the severall forces of Lincolnshire, and others, will not only do bravely as to Newarke, but also appear very formidable, for any publique designe at Spring, if no unhappy firebrand come among them, or if any be that he stay not; its a great matter to put such together as will harmonize, and not drive on other designes then the destruction of the common enemy.

We should here speak a word of a businesse which was this day debated concerning an Officer in the Association, but in regard that affair was not transacted in publike, we shal not make it publike, for we account that argument, the most childish that can be, to say the Lords and Commons intend not to proceed in such or such a businesse, but to bury it, therefore we will give account of it in publike.

Tuesday the 7. of January.

THE Lords at a Conference presented the reasons why they did not think fit to passe the Ordinance exempting Members, we could name them, but in regard we hope it will passe, and that the reasons will by the house of Commons be taken into consideration, and somewhat in answer returned, we forbear them for present.

They also presented at the same Conference, a Petition of the Bishop of Canterbury for favour: A Letter from his Grace to the Lord *Gray* of wark, and his Majesties pardon, of what date we know not, but believe its new, and so that Seal that hath been judged null, made the impression: The house seem not to take notice of any thing, so as to vary from execution, nor the manner, for he must suffer as a Traytor, drawing and quartering, he must have his dream made good on Friday next.

This day we heard more perfectly of the Western businesse, as that Colonell *Ludlow* hearing of a party Convoy going to Oxford, fell upon them, not supposing them so numerous, beat and took most of the forlorn hope, but comming to Salisbury, a party coming from Sherborne, fell upon them in Salisbury, and spoiled them, so that there is neer a hundred lost; and that those forces of *Goring*, &c. are come to Hampshire about Romsey, its believed they will not advance, but only quarter there, which if they do, they lie between us and all our Garrisons to the West, and being so many, no lesse then an Army must go to raise them, which there

will

will be a necessity of, and we hear, order is taking for that purpose.

We hear that the model of the new Army, or new moulding is laid ; there is to be 6000. horse, 14000 foot to be compleated, and constantly paid ; and these to be besides the Scottish forces, the Yorkshire, Lecester, Warwick, &c. who we believe will be twice as many, so that we shall have 60000. horse and foot ready at Spring ; and these carrying on the worke with courage and fidelity, may do our work, or the greatest part next Summer.

As to the businesse of *Kent*, there are some of the smaller flies taken, but the great ones, if any, are not yet taken.

The Commons have added to the two others the Lords named, of Religion and the Militia, that of Ireland, and indeed that is a most necessary on the back dore of the two Kingdomes, and may undo us after a peace here, if not carefully looked unto.

Wednesday the 8. of January.

WE had news of the approach of Col. or Lord *Gorings* forces before mentioned, which was, that their head quarter is at *Winchester*, having taken *Christchurch*, are with great part of their horse at *Petersfield*, and its to be feared got near *Petworth* : All the care that can be is taken by the Committee of both Kingdomes, and also by the houses, to drive them back, and it was ordered that reasons should be given by our Gen. why they kept not close to the line, according to the order of the Committee of both Kingdomes, so that we believe the horse quartered in these nearer and securer parts will go towards the enemy.

The Commons considered of the businesse of my Lord of *Canterbury*, as to the manner of his death, and did this day agree, that he should bee beheaded, he must not have his dream satisfied, nor all his Chaplaines visit him, yet so far as is necessary to confession were allowed the day before.

We had news this day that Col. *Hoborne*, notwithstanding that additionall power intended, was prevented by the *Gorians*, yet with those he had, viz. the *Plimouth* Regiment, and some others, hath fallen upon the enemies quarters about *Bridgewater*, took 200 horse at least, and had within a little taken *Bridgewater*, had we not unhappily been stopt in our conjunction, we had a brave winter of it in the West.

We hear great talke of divers ships taken, going from *Bristol*, and of great victories, and such like things in Wales, and the other party from *Oxford*, speake of Colonell *Gerards* victories, but the places are remote, and the way obstructed, so that little of certainty can be had, unlesse by an expresse, which we do not hear is come to the Parliament or Committee of both Kingdomes.

A word or two for our Country friends.

From beyond Seas thus : It doth not continue that Gen. *Gottz* dyed of his wound, but that he is comming to joyn with *Hatzfeld*, and both are to relieve Gen. *Gallas*, who is starving in the new Maidenburgh, to whose forces the Duke of Bavaria is to joyn 2000 horse, but its conceived that they will not be able to do it, for *Torstenfon* is gotten to the borders of Bohemia, by which meanes he will prevent both the advance, and its believed the conjunction of these powers, he hath left others to block up *Gallas*, who as we heare hath so laid to heart his losse of his Army, and the Emperours favour on the one side, and the being prisoner to the Sweads on the other, hath poysoned himselfe.

The Sweads have clothed their souldiers, and are in good posture, in Germany some Letters say they have had a Victory in Iuland against the Danes, gained by Major Generall *Wrangle*.

The French being drawn neer to Barcellona, and having given them assurance that they would give them reliefe, have, they of Barcellona have resolved to continue French.

There are 18000 Castillians going against the King of Portugall, who is with a great Army comming against the Castillians : What is this Austrian power able to do, fight with all the world ?

The Pope appears Spanish more and more, and besides the 3000 hath given way to the levying of 9000 more to be levyed for the Emperour, and furnishes money to raise them.

The French violently batter still the Castle of Crachnack, but the French Commissary passing by Wormes with 16000 Rixdollers, was set upon by Frankendale garrison, the Convoy killed, and many taken.

The Dyet at Munster its talked is to be removed to Frankford upon the Main, and that the Emperour begins more and more to incline to peace, and to restore the Prince Elector to all his dignities and estate : We heard one say about twenty years since, whether prophetically or not, we will not judge : That the papall power should be universally rejected, and the Palatinate recovered neer about the same time.

Printed for R. W. January 7. 1644.

A Diary, or an Exact IOVRNALL

Faithfully communicating the most remarkable proceedings in both

HOUSES OF

PARLIAMENT:

As also delivering the true Intelligence from all the Armies
within His MAJESTIES Dominions.

With many other remarkable passages both by Sea, and Land, From Thursday
the 2. of January till Thursday the 9. of January. 1645. viz.

Pontefract Church taken, and by that means the great hopes of the speedy relieving of the Castle. The towne of Scarborough besieged by the Lord Fairfax forces. The besieging also of the Castles of Bolton, Sandall, and Skipton, which are all the places of strength that the Enemy hath in Yorkshire. And the speedy hopes of reducing them. Sir Thomas Fairfax raising batteries before Pontefract. The reason presented by the Lords to the House of Commons, against passing an Ordinance to disable all Members of Parliament from bearing any Office: The humble petition of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, on which his journey was delayed, is presented, and the Arch-Bishop now adjudged to be beheaded by His Majesties forces, and sent to Petersfield in Hampshire: And the Parliament sending a considerable strength to overtake them.

Printed for Matthew Walbancke at Gray-Lanes Gate.

Thursday January 2.

The House of Commons did begin this day with a Conference with the Lords to satisfy them in points of Law concerning the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, from whom as from a Lerna, such a Sea of mischief hath flowne upon this kingdom. At this Conference, Serjeant John Mathew Nicholas and Walter Browne, Esquire, did present unto their Lordships several Reasons for the passing of that Ordinance for the arraignment of the said Bishop with high Treason, which did give the Lords ample satisfaction in points of Law, and points of precedent, so that now you will suddenly see Justice done on this great Delinquent.

The Assembly of Divines did send a Message to the House of Commons with some Annexions or Appendix to the Directory, where the Holy dayes and holiness attributed to places was to be taken away This appendix being joynted to the Directory was sent up unto the Lords with a Message, and delivered by Master Rowse, who desired from the House their Lordships speedy Concurrence in it.

An Order was made by the House of Commons that the Counties of Surrey, Suffex and Southampton should be eased of the burdens which they endure by the billeting of Souldiers, And a speedy course is to bee taken for the payment of the Forces raised by them, and now under the command of Sir William Waller.

There came a Trumpeter from Oxford, with a Letter from Prince Rupert to his Excellency the Earle of Essex, in the behalfe of Master Roger le Strange, wherein the Prince desired the forbearance of his execution, alleaging it to be a new case in point of Warre (as he was informed) for which hee was condemned, representing also that the Example thereof might occasion the like usage of some who adhere unto the Parliament, who now are or may hereafter be taken by the Souldiers of the King.

The Field News.

VVE received this day intelligence that Gloucester was besieged in some places by the Enemy, who are always watching the absence of the noble and vigilant Colonell, who is now watching at that place, but the Enemy hath been met with and the Noble Colonell hath often from thence returned victorious. We heard also of a Meeting at Sudley Cattle, which was almost as soon repeated as begun, but because that I am a better Recorder of ineligence than of reports, and doe have a greater impression upon the minde, we will give you in a Letter the true condition of that place, which for your fuller satisfaction, we have taken word for word from the Originall.

Leaving Str;

I Will give you here an account of the affaires of this place, that the *Worcestershire* Committee are come late to our Towne of *Templebury* with two hundred and forty Horse, and men well appointed, and Colonell *Blacke* is coming to our Governour Colonell *Moffat* may doe well, for it is still a small matter. We have a fourth quarter hereabouts with the Enemy by reason of the lack of *ammunition*, the *Welsh* are still heartening for our Governours absence, and *ammunition* *Parry* of *Brace* side, we never want constant Alarums, especially when hee is towards *Stroud*, or *Gloucester*, so that we are a little bit, and we could wish our *Parry* to be at *Gloucester* and *Brace* side, and *Parry* to be at *Gloucester* and *Brace* side.

you of a successfull Passage of late that was acted by Captaine Gainesford, who
keeps one of our Garrisons on the Forrest side; he had intelligence that Sir Iohn
Winter Forces were gone abroad to plunder the Countrey, and taking about forty
men with him, he met with the plunderers, killed one and twenty of them,
and tooke fourteene of them Prisoners, together with foure Waynes, and the
drivers of them, and sixtene Oxen, it was a brave defeat, I will assure you.
I could certifie you of some other passages, but it would be too tedious, one is of
the Governours Captaine Lieutenants, who with a party met with a party of the
Kings horse, killed twelve of them, tooke foure prisoners, and one Captaine of
great note, and a lease worth ten pound at least; Captaine Robert Massey was
nere taking at the same time in his quarters, but his Trumpet sounding unto him,
the enemy fled, though they were within a stones cast of him, I thinke we could
fright them with Rame-Honor.

There was a Mutinie at Sudby Castle, by the base abuse of rannily Souldiers,
being but one day behinde of their pay, Captaine George Massey the Governour
thereof was gone to borrow money to pay them, accordingly, and hearing of it,
came home, and demanding who was the Mutiniers, one of them answered, that
what was done, was done but in iust, but he understanding that he who made the
answer was the cheifest likelier, he did strike him in the thigh with his sword,
whereof he died, but all is well againe in that Castle, which is of great conse-
quence, some unruly knaves will be, doe what a man can. We have now three
Brothers all honest men, viz. our Governour Massey, Captaine George Massey,
and Captaine Robert Massey of London, who in coming on with a good Troope
of horse, he is a valiant man as well as the rest. Other slight businesses have bene
done, but those I omit till further proceedings be so signifie you at large. To
conclude, if some of your great forces doe not come forward to suppress the Eco-
nomic falling out so neere us, there will be no resting in quiet, they doe follow
us on three or foure sides. Thus for this time I take leave, and rest.

Tempsbury, Decemb. 26. 1644.

Your Friend &c.

Ryder Dm. 3

This day there was some debate in the House of Commons touching the place
and number of persons that shall sit with the Commissioners of the King,
touching an accommodation of peace. The Commissioners for the Parliament
are to receive instructions from the House, and the assurances from every Pro-
vince are to be returned to the Parliament, it was determined that Viching should
be the place where the Treaty should be held, and the number of persons on the
Parliaments side were concluded on, who are foure of the House of Peeres, eight
of the House of Commons, and foure of the Scots Commissioners it was also
agreed upon by the Committee of both Kingdomes, who are enjoined from day

Pha

so day to acquaint both Houses with their proceedings, that His Majesty should send sixteene Commissioners to meet at Vxbridge, and the time of the debate upon the Propositions is not to exceed twenty dayes and that within the compasse of that time his Majesty may propound what he hath to offer to the consideration of the Parliament.

The Letters from the Queene of Swethland were this day read in the House of Commons, declaring her great affection, and the affections of that Kingdome to the proceedings of the Parliament of England, she also demonstrated the reasons of her taking up of Armes against the King of Denmarke, she desired a correspondency with this Kingdome, intimating the great amity that was alwayes observed to be betweene the Kingdomes of England and Scotland, and the Crown of Swethland, she represented the Cause which she was ingaged and resolved to maintaine which was the defence of the Gospell, she offered with all the interests she hath of her mediation may seeme any thing to conduce unto it to compose and settle the unhappy differences in this Kingdome, her Agent certified that hee had something more of concernment to impart unto the Parliament, which he desired might be communicated with all privacy, in regard that the Queene his Mistresse had many enemies that waited all occasions to doe her injury. On this it was ordered that the further hearing of the Agent from the Queene of Swethland should be referred to the Committee of both Kingdomes who are already sworne to secrecy.

The Commons after this spent some time in going on with the report of the Northerne Affayres, the better to expedite our Brethren the Scots to advance Southwards. They tooke also into debate the paper from the Scotte Commissioners, emplying their ingagement to the Parliament of Scotland, and their returning an answer to them concerning what they desired from the Parliaments of England. Hereupon the Commons agreed upon Commissioners to be dispatched unto Scotland, with letters to the Parliament, and Assembly to give them satisfaction.

This day a Councell of War was held in Essex House, whereat a Captaine of a Troope of Horse was sentenced to death for killing of a man.

The Field News:
This day we advertised that the Garison of Alisbury understanding that the Kings forces were plundering up and downe the Country, did rally and tooke sixty of them Prisoners whom without any losse at all they did bring safe to Alisbury.

The Newses from the Sea:
This day we also understood that the Lord Goring had embarked himself for England in the same Vessail which transported the Queene to France. In his bottome were said to be six thousand Armes, threescore thousand Pistols

in Gold, which were borrowed of the King of *France* on the Mortgage (as it is said in *France*) of the two Islands of *Jersey* and *Jersey*.

Wee also this day understood of a brave service performed by *Captaine Swanley*, who by a fine Nayall Stratagem having learned that six *English* ships were under sayle, and going for the *Streights*, did set forth from *Milford Haven*, with his Squadron of Ships resolving to give them entertainment, and (according to his desire) having met with them, hee forced them to submit unto him, and he hath now brought them all to *Milford Haven*.

Saturday January 4.

AN Ordinance was presented to the House of Commons for certain dayes of tase to bee appointed for servants and labourers wherein to recreate themselves. The second Thursday in every moneth was propounded but it was not this day agreed upon. It was provided that if any servant should disorder himselfe on this dayes liberty by access of Drinke, &c. That he shall not only be punished for his offence, but debarr'd that yeare from the benefite of Recreation.

The House of Peeres concurred with the House of Commons in the amendments of the Directory for Worship, And the said Directory being passed, it was agreed upon by both Houses that it should bee forthwith printed by the Printer to the House of Peeres, and that it should be published throughout the Kingdome, And a course is to be settled for the strict observation of it. And some of the Assembly of Divines are to peruse the printed Copies at the presse that all mistakes may be avoyded, And there is an Ordinance (as I conceive) to bee printed and joyned with it for the taking away the Book of Common prayer.

Vpon complaint of some riotous abuses and disorders committed by the Parliament Souldiers, where they quarter, an Order is taken for the punishment of such persons, And the Parliament and Committee of both Kingdoms have sent severall commands to all the Countiees adjoining to this Citie where any of the Parliaments Souldiers are quartered, to remove, and to take their quarters more neere the Enemy, and to streighten them, and not their friends who furnish the City with provision.

The Fied News.

VVE received this day intelligence that Colonell *Goring* marched to *Salisbury* with three thousand Horse and Dragoones, where Colonell *Ludlow* kept his quarters having taken some of the Enemies forces in his Retreat from *Taunton*, and being too secure he was surprized by the Enemy who fell upon our men in severall places of the Towne, we lost about two hundred.

Horle; but Colonel Ludlow himselfe with sixeene Men did breake through the Enemy and got unto *Swanton*. In this accident we lost Captain *James* a Lieut. etc; and some other inferior Officers but to make some amends for this wee understood that Colonel *Crook* had fallen upon the Enemy in his march towards the West, and that he had taken Colonel *Fielking* and divers other prisoners whom hee brought with him (without any losse) to London.

Monday January 8.

The business of the treaty was this day taken againe into debate by the House of Commons and they concurred with the Lords to have the treaty at *Uxbridge*; and that it should be performed by Commissioners on both sides, and that a safe conduct should on both sides be granted, and that the Propositions to be treated on should be that the Government and reformation of the Church should be settled by an Act of Parliament, and that to this effect that consultation may be had with the Assembly of Divines, and that the Militia of the Kingdome should be committed to the disposing of the Parliament, and that the admiralty may be settled, and that all forces both by Sea and Land may be put in their hands for the security of both Kingdomes, it was also agreed upon that an Act of Parliament may be passed to make void the Cessation in Ireland, and that assistance with the Rebels may be dispulled, and that the prosecution of the Warre against those barbarous Rebels may be managed by the joynt advice of both Kingdomes, and that the King is to assist them, and to doe no Act that may either discomenience or disturbe them, that the Commissioners who shall be sent from both Kingdomes shall have power to receive the proceedings in the Treaty and to send them unto both Houses of Parliament, and to receive from them what instructions shall be expedient.

The House of Commons did also send up a Message to the Lords to desire their concurrence concerning the Execution of the Bishop of *Cathery*, according to the judgment passed upon him, which was that (being attainted of High Treason by both Houses of Parliament) he might suffer according to his sentence on Friday next on Tower Hill, and that the Lieutenant of the Tower may deliver him over to the Sheriffs of London to see execution done upon him as a Traytor. To this the Lords have given their consent, and it was this day ordered that Warrants should be made to see execution performed accordingly.

The

WE received advertisement out of Staffordshire that Colonel Trenchard the Governour of Russell Hall, understanding that a party were commanded forth from Litchfield to be as a convoy to Sir Robert Trenchard who was going laden with his good prize to his Majesty at Oxford he sent forth a party to overtake them, who meeting with them fell upon them at their return (though upon extreame disadvantage) did encounter with them, and (within two houres) after they sailed forth, did take the n Prisoners every man, and brought them safe (without any loss on our side to our Garrison at Russell Hall.

We also understand that the Towne of Carlisle is in our possession, though the Castle doth still hold out, who finding in what difficulty and distresse they labour, have employed Sir John Grims to York to treat with us, and so far under it on composition, it was also certified that a strong party of the Kings horse advanced from Oxford unto a place called Christ Church in Hampshire, not far from the Towne of Southampton, which place they are neare fortifying some are of opinion that they have a designe to invade the Countrey of Sussex which doth not seeme so probable for if they doe advance that way, the forces now at Southampton, and those which are quartered in Winchester and on the edge of the County of Sussex will no wayes endure such dangerous neighbours should be so neere unto them.

Tuesday January 7.

This day the Lords did send a Message to the House of Commons, desiring a Conference with them, at which they declared their reasons, for which they could not passe the Ordinance from the great Varr, for taking away all Officers from Members of either House, as it was presented unto them without priviledges or exceptions.

The substance of the motion was; That because in particular Exceptions is given against any one, and they have declared their particular Contentions might be spared from their constant attendance in the House for the public service.

2. That the Petition had taken the Direction in the House, and were willing to have and their Law, and should have been heard in due order.

3. That the designe of the Commons in this, was to have some Authority over the Armies of the King, and the Militia.

The Assembly of Commons did send a Letter to the Lords, by the Speaker of the House of Commons, and in his Letter he related in relation to the Lords, and also the reasons for the same. This petition did seeme to be an answer to the Lords, and they did not seeme to be against law and Reason. But the Lords moved the House of Commons that he might be beheaded, which being debated



The following divers passages
 The Treaty with the
 Government to Scotland and
 by Parlia-
 Some have we have lost at Sa-
 Some have we have took by
 to Manchester, and
 which have entirely made a
 as some men
 If no longer it may be the

Devise as Serpents, innocent as Doves.

SCOTISH DOVE

Sent out, and Returning.

Brings Intelligence from the Armies of both

Kingdoms, and relates other Passages observable

For Information and Instruction to

From Friday the 3. of January till Friday the 10. of January, 1746.

You may remember that in our last Intelligence
 we told you, that there was a conference of both
 Houses concerning the Treaty and that it was then in
 debate by the Committee of both Kingdoms, for the
 manner

manner and place, of which they made report to the House on Friday, that the Committee for the Treaty with the Parliament, should be four Lords and Commons, and four Scotch Commissioners, and that the King should not exceed above sixteen; the place of Treaty to be at Uxbridge, and that the two first Propositions should first be Treated on, viz. the settling of Religion and the Militia; and that the time for debate thereof, not to exceed twenty dayes, to all which both Houses have agreed.

The same day the Lords agreed to the Directory for Gods Worship, and to the abolishing of the Book of Common Prayer; the Lords only dissented in two or three particulars, which was by the Commons appointed to be considered of by a Committee, all which is agreed on.

The Sweden Agent of whom I have formerly told you made his desire known to the Parliament to have further audience, to impart to them some farther business, and a Committee of Lords and Commons were appointed to receive what he had to deliver to them: And the Letter which he brought from the Queen of Sweden was read in the House, which did expresse the Queens great affection to the Kingdoms and Parliaments of England and Scotland, and her engagement in the great cause of ~~and~~ & in maintaining of Religion, the same in which the Kingdoms of England and Scotland are now engaged, offering her best endeavours to her uttermost abilities to settle the Peace of these Kingdoms; and expresseth how sensible she is of the injuries done by the King of Denmark, to the ships trading into the Sound, both English, Scotch, and of Sweadland, by harsh Taxes and Impositions, contrary to publique contract, some other things the Agent imparted to the Committee, which he desired to do with as much secrecy as might be, which

I am not informt of, or if I were, it were not fit for me to impart in any publick way.

The Parliament of Scotland being now to begin, the House hath taken into consideration, to appoint some Commissioners to be sent into Scotland, which will be done with speed. And it was Ordered by the House of Commons, that a Letter shall be writ from the Assembly of Divines, to the Assembly of Scotland, to acquaint what is done here, and how far they have proceeded in the settling of Religion and of other particulars to which they are directed by the said Order.

The Lords having received full satisfaction in the business concerning the Archbishop, that the crimes of which he stood impeachd, and condemn'd, was Treason to the State in the highest degree. The business being at large debated by *Sergeant Wild*, and *Mr. Brown*. The Lords pass'd sentence against him, and the said Archbishop is sentenced to suffer death as a Traytor, to be drawn to the place of execution, and there to be hanged and quartered, and the day appointed is Friday.

We had Intelligence that the Garrison of Winchester being much straightned of provisions by some of the Parliaments Forces that are quartered neer them, they from the Town went out to drain the Country of cattle, and to plunder the people, and had got much plunder and cattle, but before they could get into the Town, *Col. Morleys* Troop gave them a salute, and relcu'd the cattle and plunder that they had taken, and took divers of the enemy prisoners. From Alisbury we had Intelligence, that they in the Town having notice of a party of the Kings Horse that were in the Country taking plunder, made out to find them, and surpris'd 30. or 40. of the Enemy, which they brought prisoners to Alisbury, where now they are.

We had by ill accident some loss of men at Salisbury, but we had almost as good a prize of the enemy as I think, so that one set against the other, the matter is not great. We have Intelligence that the Garrison of Rushell House in Staffordshire, had by a sally out into the Country, met with a party of the enemy, and took 18 or 19 of them prisoners, it seems it was a party that was going to Oxford.

Colonell *Fielding* a Commander of the Kings, the same *Fielding* that surrendered Reading to the Lord Generall is taken prisoner by Col. *Cock*, and divers others, which are all brought up to London.

The Archbishop sent a letter to the Lord *Gruy*, Speaker of the Lords House, and a petition to the House for mercy; and withall he sent the Kings pardon which he had for the saving of his life, which was granted to him about two years since, but all was rejected, he must be hanged first, and pardoned after: some speech there was of degrading him first. But I conceive there will not be any thing done in that, but as he was a Bishop and a Preacher, he shall be a Bishop in a Halter, as I have heard.

On Tuesday the Lords had conference with the Commons, about the Ordinance for removing all Members of either House from all Offices &c. and gave the Commons some reasons, why they could not consent with them in the passing of that Ordinance, it being without all exceptions, what will be farther done in the businesse we shall shortly hear. It is not to be doubted but both Houses will well agree about it, and will yeeld each to the other in all necessary things.

One thing I omitted concerning the Bishops request to the Lords, which was that he desired to have three of his Popish chaplains to come to visit him, viz. Doctor *Heywood*, Doctor *Stern*, Doctor *Martin*, and that they might

be with him before and at his death; all these are prisoners, one of them onely is granted to come to him, and in stead of the other two, the Parliament have appointed Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Palmer to be with him.

It is certified that a strong party of the Kings horse are gone from Oxford into Hampshire, and are quartered about Christ Church, a Town so called; where it is said they are fortifying, they are ill neighbors to Southampton, and are in a ready way toward Sussex; but I hope there will be care taken to prevent any such design, and not suffer them to stay in such fresh quarter.

It is certified from Chester that our forces lye within a little distanced of the Town, and have in part blockt it up; and that Beeston castle is also besieged; they write, that Sir Tho. Middleton hath had a skirmish with the enemy, wherein he lost some men that were taken prisoners, among whom was Major Lewiston.

The Directory for Gods Worship, is forthwith to be published to all the world; and the House of Commons have had debate concerning the Government of the Church, and have as I am informed, voted that the Government by Presbytery is agreeing to the word of God.

It is further certified that Col. Martin the Governor of Alisbury, besides the horse and prisoners before spoken of, hath taken a whole Troop, it was as it is said the Prin-Troop, all good horse and well armed; all which will help to make up our losse at Salisbury.

There is confirmation of the enemies being at Christchurch in Hampshire, and that they grow numerous, and are come a great part of them as far as Peters field in Sussex, they are said to be about 2000. horse; but I think they are not so many. We use to look upon the enemy through multiplying glasses, and it is better so then to undervalue them; then there is a speedy course to be taken.

ken to divert the enemy from those parts.

It is reported that the Lord *Goring* is returned from France, and is come to Bristol; and brought with him money and armes: If it be true as is reported, I shall be sorry; the reporters affirm that he hath brought 3 or 6000. arms, and 60000. French crowns in Gold; and that the Islands of Gernsey, and Iersey, are morgaged to the French King for the money and armes: We may with confidence assure our selves that they have no intention to yeeld to any peace, except such as may be of their own making, as will be manifest in the tryall: The Commons have added a third Proposition to be Treated of, and as needfull as the former, and will put the businesse to a present experiment, and that is concerning Ireland: If the Royallists have a desire to see a happy peace, it is now in their power to make it, but war and rapine hath bin so sweet to many of them, that they will rather be hanged for plundering, then be counted guilty of peace making: but God can do what he will, and we will wait till his will be done: If we must win peace by war, and that the sword must decide the quarrell, I hope we shall be in a better posture by the next spring, then ever yet we were, and better able to punish those licentious Libertines, and lawlesse destroying spoylers.

There are some Horse come from Lincoln-shire, and are quartered about Oundell in the county of Northampton; there is Colonell *Roffers* Regiment, and Colonell *Fleetwoods* Regiment, that if the enemy should slip by any of our Forces, that lye neere unto them, these may be ready to receive them: And besides, it is conceived that we shall see brave Northren Armies in these South-west parts before the Spring, and see a purging of some humours out of our other Armies too: for there are humours in some men of malignant quality, though the men be un-malignant themselves: There is a malignancy that kills, and there is a malignancy that denies assistance for safety; which is the worst I dispute not; but I am sure the

the best is too bad: the body must be purged of both, or it cannot be sound, nor safe.

It is certified that Colonell *Holburn* hath had some Skirmishes in the West parts, with Colonell *Goring*s Horse; and though he have not that addition come to him as was intended, and as he expected: yet he made attempt to fall upon the enemy in their quarters about Bridgwater, where he slew divers, and tooke divers of the enemy prisoners, and about 200. horse, and had not an accident prevented, he had taken the Town of Bridgwater.

From the North we have little newes, only it is affirmed that our Brethren of Scotland are in Carlisle Town, but have not yet taken the Castle; it seemes they are there, as the Lord *Fairfax* his Forces are at Pomphrey, in the Town against the Castle, which still holds out; it is also certified that Scarsbrough, Skipton, Sandall, &c. are all either besieged or blocked up by the Lord *Fairfax* his Forces; there is no place of strength in all the North in the enemies hand, but what is blockt up, and I hope will shortly be reduced to better order and obedience.

There is this present Thursday, a Councell of War held at *Essex*-house, summoned by his Excellency, whereat are severall of his Excellencies Officers to appear, by expresse warrant under his own hand.

Whereas it hath been reported that the Lady *Carew* was dead, and that she died of grief for the death of Mr *Alexander* her late Husband, it was but a surmise, or a false report, for the Lady is yet alive and well, and likely to continue so: except any be so excellent in the art of perswasion, as can perswade her to dye before she feele any disease.

There is a generall report of some good service done by Captain *Stanley*, but I cannot see any good ground for the report. I have not heard of any writing that hath confirmed it, either to the House or to any private person, and therefore feare the truth of it; and will rather ~~omit to relate what I hear~~, than ~~propose~~ a false report to go further.

The Parliament taking into consideration the conveniency of dayes for Servants refreshment and recreation (the Saints dayes, commonly called Holy dayes, being put down) have thought good to appoint one day in every Moneth: The second Munday in every Moneth is nominated, but the businesse is not yet perfected; there will

will be a restraint from all unlawfull sports and sinfull recreations, and that all who shall abuse any of those dayes, by excesse of drunkenness, shall not onely receive punishment according to Law, but lose the benefit of any of those dayes for Recreation for a whole yeere.

The Bishop hath obtained the favour from both Houses, as to be freed from climbing the Ladder, and is now to make satisfaction for eight Eares which he illegally cut off, by his two Eares and head together, which is this next Friday to be bequeathed to Gregory.

From Newark we have Intelligence, that upon a Treaty with the Parliaments forces for four dayes, about the exchange of prisoners, some Gentlemen from Newark came to Lincoln; the Town being jealous that they were gone to make their Peace, consulted for their own safety, which being discovered, they have secured Sir Richard Byron the Governour, and have hanged one *Hercules Clay* a Mercer of the Town, the Town is in great straights, and are now exceedingly divided.

This Thursday it hath been a common Report that Gifford in Surrey is plundered, and not unlikely, for there is Intelligence brought to his Excellency, that the Kings Forces are gathered into a Body, and were as it is said, 5000. at Godliman two miles from Gifford, and six pieces of Ordnance; upon which his Excellency hath given command to all Officers to repair speedily to their quarters; The country of Surrey hath been scared, and many of the Committee suspected, and complained of, it were well if they that have stopped the Complainants mouths, were taken notice of. I conceive it is a businesse of great concernment.

Printed according to Order for L.C.

1644.



THE TRUE INFORMER.

From Saturday January 4. to Saturday January 11. 1645.

The Speech or Confession of William Laud, late Archbishop of Canterbury, as it was delivered by himself, on the Scaffold on Tower Hill, on Friday last, Jan. 10. with the passages before and after execution. Letters from the Governour of Portsmouth, of the Kings forces coming to Winchester, and moving towards Portsmouth. A Vote of the House of Commons, concerning Commanders in the Army.



He last week I gave you an account of the execution of Sir John Hotham and his sonne: but especially of the observable passages at the beheading of the former. I shall now give you a particular account of the Passages at the Execution of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

On Friday, Jan. 10. about 13. a clock at noone, William Laud, Archbishop

Archbishop of *Canterbury* was brought from the Tower of London (guarded by the Lieutenant thereof, and Officers belonging thereunto) to the Scaffold on Tower-hill, whether being come, attended with divers Ministers, he retired to the Raile, and spake to the people to this effect.

Good People,

I am an old man, and my memory faileth, and therefore being come to this place, I must crave leave to make use of my papers: I dare not trust to my memory.

Good People,

THIS is a very uncomfortable place to preach in, and yet I come to do it with this Text, *Heb. 12.* desiring to imitate those that have run with patience that race that was set before them, looking to Jesus Christ, the author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despised the shame, and is set downe at the right hand of God.

I have been long in my race, I have looked unto Jesus, the Author and finisher of my faith; his blessed and onely will be done. I am come to the end of my race, and here I feare not death, the King of terrours, for I might be with Jesus, who is locally at the right hand of God: he despised the shame for me; and (God knows) I despise the shame for Jesus Christ. I am to passe through the Red Sea, and my feet are upon the very brink of it; an Argument (I hope) that God is bringing of me to the Land of Promise: for, that was the way through which of old he led his people: for, before they came to the Sea, he ministered a Paschever for them; a Lamb. Now, if it be to be eaten with fowre herbs, I shall obey, I shall be both to digest the fowre herbs, as well as the Lamb; I shall not thinke much of the herbs; nor be angry with the hand that gathereth them; but look to him who alone governs both the one and the other; for men can have no more power over me, then they have given them from above. I am not afraid of this passing through the Red Sea, for what I could not endure of my self, but Christ hath gone through before me, and I shall most willingly drinke of this cup, though not as deep as he did: and entering into the Sea, I shall passe through it in the way that he shall please to lead me.

And

And yet, good people, it would be remembered, that when the servants of God, the children of Israel, were in this boisterous Sea, and *Aron* with them, the Egyptians which persecuted them, and did in a manner drive them into the Red Sea, and were in a manner drowned in the same waters: And I know my God is as able to deliver me from this Sea of blood, as he was to deliver them out of that. I shall humbly thank my Saviour for it, who, I hope, will forgive the errors of my life: As the three Children would not worship the Image which the King set up, nor shall I the Imaginations which the people have set up, nor will I worship *Ieroboams* Calves, and I pray God to bless all people, and shew them the light, for *If the blind lead the blind, they will both fall into a ditch*. For my self, I am (and I acknowledge it in all humility) a most grievous sinner against God, in my thoughts, words, and deeds; and yet I doubt not, but God, who is rich in mercy, will forgive me. As well as for other things, I have upon this sad occasion, ransacked every corner of my heart, and yet I thank God, among the many things that are there, there is not any one thing that deserves death, by any known Law of the Kingdome, and yet hereby I charge nothing upon my Judges, here I desire I may be understood, I desire to charge nothing upon them, but they are to proceed upon proofes, and by that way, I, or any man else, may justly be condemned, and the Judge innocent.

And though the weight of my censures lies very heavy upon me, yet I am as quiet within as ever I was (I thank God) in this world, and so am not the first man that went this way: yet some of my Predecessors have gone this way, as *Thomas Becket*, by the fury of *Mat. Tyler*, and his company; and long before him *S. Iohn Baptist* had his head chopt off, by a lewd woman, and *S. Cyprian* Bishop of Carthage submitted his head to a persecuting mans tyranny, and would teach me patience: for I hope my cause will look in another die then that colour that was put upon them, and so the comfort it is to me, that not only I go the way of these men in their severall generations, but also that my charge lookes so much like that of *S. Paul*, *Acts 6.* and of *Stephen*, *Acts 7.* for he was accused in that Chapter for breaking the Ordinances which *Moses* gave them, which Ordinances were then their Religion: But you will say, do I think to compare my selfe with *Paul* and *Stephen*? no God forbid, only I raise a comfort to my selfe, that the great Saints of God were laid

under the same suspicion: And it is very memorable, that *S. Paul* (who was once a great one) that helpe out the occasion against *Stephen*, fell afterwards into the same accusation by the people: I but perhaps, a great clamour there is, that I would have brought in Popery; I shall answer that by and by: In the meantime, you have heard what the Pharisees said concerning Christ, *If god let him alone, all men will believe on him, Et veniunt Romani*; here was the cause of Christ applied unto the Romans; and you see this was their feare, that the Romans should come, This speech was that, which brought the Romans upon them, God punished them with that, which they most feared; [See how falsely this little grace applies the persecution of Christ to himselfe] and I pray God this clamour of *Veniunt Romani* of which I have given (to my knowledge) no just cause at all, helpe not to bring them in: for the Pope had never such a harvest since the reformation as he hath now by these Sects that are among us: [An apparent fiction, compare the present time with the time of his government; now not a Jesuite dares show his head: *Ego*]

Qui tulerit Gracebas de seditione querens]. In the meane time, through good report and evil, I am passing to my end: some particulars also I think not amiss to speak of, and this first I shall be bold to speak of. The King our gracious Sovereigne, who hath been much traduced by some, to labour to bring in Popery, but upon my conscience (of which I am now going to give an account before the great Judge) I know him to be as free from that charge as any man living; and I hold him to be as sound a Protestant, according to Religion by Law established, as any man in this Kingdome, and will venture his life as farre and as freely for it, I think, and upon such grounds of Religion and affection to it, as fully as any man in the world.

The second is, concerning this great and populous City, where it hath been usuall of late, to gather hands, and go to the great and high Court, to clamour the Parliament, as if they must be guided by them, a way, that may indanger a Minister of States life, and bring much judgements upon their owne heads: and this hath been lately practised against my self, God forgive the Abettors, and I forgive them with all my heart. I remember how it was in *S. Stephens* case, when nothing else would serve, they stirred up the people against him, and *Herod* went the same way, for when he took *S. James*, he would not

not put him to death, without the people: But take heed of having your hands full of blood: This is a time, when God, above other things, makes inquisition for blood, and when inquisition is on foot, Jer, 7. The Prophet tells them, what cause they had to take heed of this: It is a fearful thing, at any time, to fall into the hands of the living God, But then, especially when he makes inquisition for blood, [*Sure the Archbishop forgets, that Israel could not prosper, till Justice was executed upon Achan, and Sauls Sons, and we hope our Iscariot, will now prosper against the common Enemy, having executed Justice upon so great a persecuter of the Church of God.*]

England hath flourished, and been a shelter unto other Nations, when they have been in a storme, but alas, now it is in a storme it self, and God knows when it shall get out, and is now become like an Oake broken to stivers, and at every step, prophannesse and irreligion entring on apace, (while a prosperous peace did establish it) for now we have, in a manner, almost lost the Church, and too much in this City, and that which all the Jesuites could not do, is brought in to a great danger.

Lastly, For my self: I am not willing to be tedious, I shall hasten to go out of this world, and I beseech as many as are in hearing to observe; I was a Member of the bosome of the Church of England as it stands established by Law; in that profession I have ever been brought up, and in that profession I now come to die. This is no time to dispute with God, at least in matters of Religion; and therefore I have alwayes been established in the Protestant Religion, and in that I come to die. What clamours underwent I for labouring to establish an uniformity [or rather a conformity, to the Church of Rome] in the Ceremonies and Discipline of the Church.

I am accused of high treason by the Parliament, a crime which my soule ever abhorred; this Treason was charged upon me to consist of two parts: *An intention to overthrow the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdom: And, to alter the Religion established.* Besides the Answer I gave to the severall Charges, I professed my innocency in both Houses, it was then at the Barre: And now I must come to my Protestation, not at the Barre, but to my Protestation at this hour and instant at my Death; in which (I hope) all men will be such charitable Christians as not to think that I would

would hide or dissemble my Religion: I do therefore here (with that caution I did before) submit with all due respect to the wisdom and judgment of my Judges, who are to proceed *secundum allegata & probata*.

I have been accused, likewise, of being an Enemy to Parliaments, and to endeavour their destruction: I understood them, and the benefit that comes by them, too well to be so: [No, then what means that Counsell of yours to his Majesty, besides the dissolution of the former, before the last; if this Parliament prove peevish, break it off] But I misliked the misgovernment of some one or two Parliaments, and did conceive they might have done well with moderation: *Corruptio optimi est pessima*, there is no corruption in the world, is so bad, as the corruption of that which is good itself.

Then he prayed God to direct the Parliament, and bless them, that they may not fall under any misgovernment.

It will not now be long, I have done, I forgive all the world, all, and every one, bitter enemies, or others, whatsoever they have been, which have any way prosecuted me, in this case: And I humbly desire, to be forgiven, first of God, and then of Man, whether I have offended them, or they think I have: Lord forgive them, and now I desire you to joine with me in Prayer.

Vpon the conclusion of this his last Sermon he made a short Prayer audibly, kneeling at the Raile, and after he had put off his Canon-cull Gowne, another kneeling behind the Block, upon the conclusion whereof, the Executioner, upon a word given him, cut off his head the first stroke.

Yorkshire.

The taking of Pontefract Church in Yorkshire, by the Lord Fairfax his forces, their raising of batteries against the Castle there, and the besieging of Skipton, Sandall and being the chiefe holds the Enemy have in that County, by severall parties sent from the Lord Fairfax, hath been already mentioned by others and therefore we shall not insist upon them.

Lincolnshire.

The compleat Regiment of Horse, of that gallant Colonel Roffier, a thousand in number, and the other of Colonel Flaxwoods, have

have (as we heare) extended their quarters as far as Oundle in Northamptonshire, as is believed, to wait the enemies approach, in case he should draw from Banbury towards the Association, which way (though still with a squint eye) they have keered a long time: but it is hoped, the severall forces of Lincolneshire, and others, will be able, not only to do good service against Newmarket, but also by the Spring, appeare very formidable for any publique designe.

We shall now wheele about into Shropshire, where we find that there are 1200. men in Arms about Clun-Castle and Bishop-Castle, who declare themselves to be neither for King nor Parliament, but stand upon their owne guard, for the preservation of their lives and fortunes. The occasion of their taking up Arms did first arise from the extreme cruelty and oppression of many of the Kings Officers, and especially of one Colonel Van Gave, a Dutch Officer. The Commissioners of Array have been with them, to lay downe their Arms, which they absolutely refuse, unless his Majesty grant them their owne conditions, which are,

1. To have restitution of all wrongs done by Van Gave.
 2. To have Arms, and all his Souldiers, expelled their Country.
 3. That the King should give him a House and a Day-House, shall be remitted and dismissed.
 4. That they may have Commanders of their owne.
- Forraigne parts.*

The principall Intelligence this week from forraigne parts is. The report of the removing of the diet at Mnutler to Frankford upon the main, and that the Emperour begins more and more to incline to peace and restore the Prince Elector, some of his dignities and estate. The Pope appears Spanish more and more and besides 3000. men (formerly related) he hath given way to levy 9000. more for the Emperour and furnishes money to raise them. The French still violently batter the Castle of Crachnack: also that the French Commissarie passing by Wormes with 16000. Rixdollers was set upon by Frankendale Garrison the Convoy killed and many taken.

Abington.

We had on Tuesday last, Jan. 7. Intelligence, that the party that went lately from Abington, to fall upon Beselsith House, wherein the

the Oxonians had placed two or three hundred Musketeers, have taken the Garrison, the particulars we do not hear; this only we are ascertained of, that the Engineer, that discovered the Plot, by which the surprize of the Royall Fort at Oxford, was prevented, was taken in that House; so that he will undoubtedly receive according to his merit, (a better) than at Oxford are so nimble in their execution, that they have already hanged up the Lieutenant that should have helped Major General Brown to surprize the Guard. The Abington Horse do so disturb the Enemies Horse Quarters, on that side Oxford, next them, that they are forced to remove to the other side.

On Friday last Jan. 10. the House of Commons had intelligence concerning the Enemies being about Winchester, and of their moving towards Portsmouth, which Garrison (as the Governour certified by his Letter, is in a good condition to oppose them in case they should have any designe against it. The House of Commons the same day also voted,

That hereafter all Commanders and Officers, whose charge it was to see that there were strong parties to lie upon the Lines to intercept the Enemy, should be careful diligently to pursue the divisions they shall receive therein from the Committee of both Kingdoms.

The Commons then also sent up a Message to the House of Peers, to desire them to pass the Ordinance for the disabling of Members from military affairs for that the neglect thereof would be very destructive to the proceedings of the Armies.

Printed for T. Bates, at the Maiden-Head on Swan-Hill, and J. W. J. in the Old-Baily. 1645.

14
A FULL
RELATION
OF

The Defeate given, and Victory obtained upon Saturday last, by our Forces at *ABBINGTON*:

Commanded by that Noble and faithfull Commander, Major Generall *Browne*, against the *Oxford* Forces, Commanded by the two Princes, *Rupert*, and *Maurice*, who then with much confidence came to storm and take the aforesaid Garrison.

In a Letter from Collonell *Samuel Harser*, to Captaine *Jones* in *LONDON*.

Imprimatur,

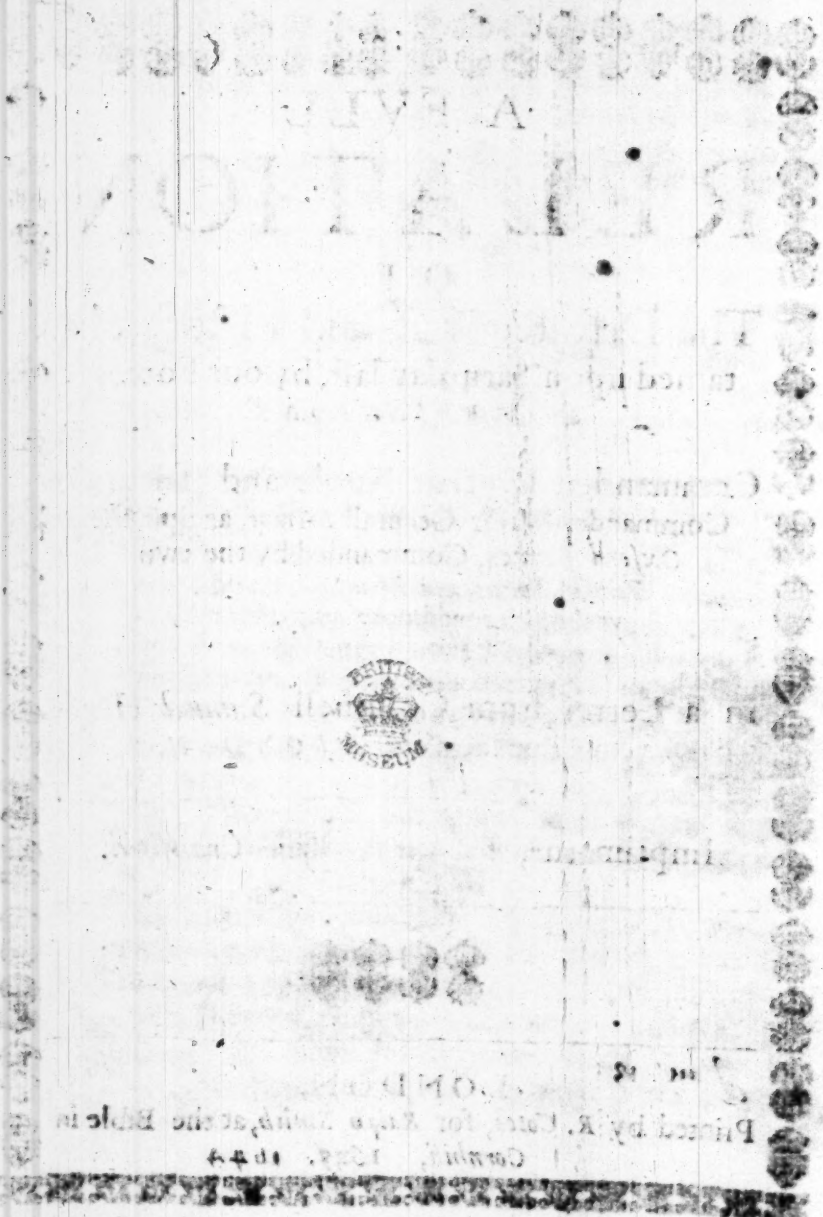
Ja. Cranford.



Jan: 13.

LONDON,

Printed by *R. Cotes*, for *Ralph Smith*, at the Bible in *Cornhill*, 1645. 1644



A. F. V. L.

RECEIVED

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN
COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN
COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN



BRITISH MUSEUM

1944

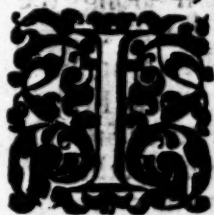
Printed by R. Lane for the Communist Party of Great Britain
London 1944



A
FULL RELATION
OF THE
Defeate given, and Victory obtained
upon Saturday last, by our Forces at
ABBINGTON.

January 12. 1644.

SIR,



Have had a longing desire to requite your love in giving mee a Relation of that Fight of *Alford*; but never could meet with an opportunity, but some thing the Lord hath now vouchsafed worthy the Relation to our worthy Friends.

I came on Friday night from *Henly* with our Company that came with us from *London*. Some others of our Garrison that wee found at *Reading*, and from thence after mid-night, past very quietly by *Wallingford*, and so about three a Clock came safe to *Abbingdon*, seeing none in our way to trouble us, but

having been not above three houres here, wee had an Allarum from the same way wee came, which was about halfe a mile from us in *Oxfordshire*, called *Callum* Bridge, which they posselt themselves of, before wee had time to draw forth any party to charge them; there were parties from *Oxon*, and from *Wallingford*, Prince *Rupert* Commanding in Chiefe, with whom was Prince *Maurice*, Sir *Henry Gage*, Governour of *Oxford*, and many other great Commanders; their Force were supposed to bee in all about three thousand Horse and Foote, with two pceces of Ordinance.

Behinde the said Bridge was a great hill with many hedges, which they lined with Musqueteers, to the great annoyance of our men. But our Noble Major Generall upon hearing of the Allarum, Commanded our men to Armes, which was cheerefully obeyed: and by parties were drawn along the Cawfie, that did lead from the Town to that Bridge; (Meadowes over-flowed with water, being on both sides) and comming to charge them at the Bridge, the Enemy stoutly opposed us, but to their losse, whereupon wee had two Drakes commanded thither: And our men cheerefully drawne into the water on both sides, did so pelt them, while the Drakes plaid upon the Bridge, that after foure houres fight wee drove them from the Bridge and the Hedges, and made them retreat, and wee having got the Bridge, which being of Stone, they had partly broken down.

Yet our men got over, Commanded by Major
Brad-

Bradberry, Major to *Collonell Sparrowes Regiment* of *Essex*, at the entring over which Bridge hee was slaine, but have not lost above eight or ten men at the most, and so the Enemy was forced shamefully to retreat.

The Fight beganne betimes in the morning, at which instant there was a patty of three score and ten, or fourescore Horse from *Farrington*, to set upon our Horse, quartered at a Village called *Drayton* in *Barkeshire*, on the other side of the Town, neere two miles off, the Enemy was there, Commanded by Major *Hatton Farmer*, Major of the Prince his Regiment, our Horse carryed themselves very couragiously, beat the Enemy out of their quarter, and pursued them within a mile of *Farrington*, and killed the Major with divers others, and mortally wounded the Captaine Lieutenant of the Prince his Regiment, took many of the Men and Horse, amongst whom were five *Irish men*, which wee hanged the same day in the Market place, and not above twelve of these Horse got into *Farrington*, the rest slaine or taken, without the losse of any one of our men, or Horse.

Their intent was, as wee are informed by Prisoners, and a Trumpeter, that this evening came from *Oxford*, to desire the Majors body, that the Horse should give us an Allarum on the one side, whilst the Foote stormed us on the other. And another that this day came from *Oxford*, did give our Major Generall information, both of them affirme, that wee have slaine *Sir Henry Gage*, Governour of *Oxford*, and

many others of great quality. It is reported that Lieutenant Colonell *Lower*, Deputy Governour of *Wallingford*, is slaine, time will produce more: I am confident the Enemy had a great advantage of us by the bridge and hills, yet the Lord fought for us, and hath delivered us out of their hands, for which we desire thanks may be generally given to the Lord of hosts, the God of Victory and in particular for this preserving of us in our passage hither, the Enemy being upon their march very neere us; and had they taken us, it would have occasioned great Triumph in the Enemy, there being of us foure Colonels, besides other Captaines and Commanders. Our Major Generall, Doctor *Wilson*, and Quartermaster Generall *Burrows*, remember their loves to you, and would have given you a touch hereof, but I undertooke to save them that labour; I pray you acquaint our Friends herewith: as having exprest nothing but what I know to be truth.

One of the Messengers from *Oxford* informeth us that Prince *Rupert* engaged himselfe to the King and Lords, that hee would have *Abbingdon* on Saturday before twelve a clocke at noone, but missing his hopes hee was ashamed to march into *Oxford* with the Forces that returned, but came in privately another way, and there the Lords mockt him, askt him *Where is Abbingdon*, that hee boasted hee would so suddenly have. But wee gave them such a breakfast, that I thinke, hee will have little stomacke hereafter to come and visit our Noble Major Generall; wee could not for want of Horse pursue

pursue the victory, Collonel *Fines* having left us, and I thinke God would not vouchsafe to doe him so much honour as to bee present at so noble an exploit: for the number of ours slaine, I have already given you an accompt: The slaine of the enemy are not yet certainly knowne; the Countrey reports of three or foure Carts of dead and wounded Corpes they tooke with them. Besides many of theirs were drowned; others throwne in after they were slaine, and some found dead upon the place.

*Abbingdon the 12 of Janua-
ry, 1644. at nine a clocke on
Sabbath day night.*

*I rest your Loving Friend
and Neighbour,*

SAM. HARRIS.

FINIS.



William Laud Arch-B: of
Canterbury Prymat of England.
was beheaded on Tower-hill Jan: 30th 1644
W.M. sculpsit

The Archbishop of *Canterbury's*

S P E E C H:

O R

His Funerall Sermon,

Preacht by himself on the Scaffold on
Tower-Hill, on Friday the 10.
of Ianuary, 1644.

Upon *H E B R E W S* 12. 1, 2,

Also, the Prayers which he used at the same
time and place before his execution.

All faithfully Written by *John Hinde*, whom the Arch-
bishop beseeched that he would not let any wrong
be done him by any phrase in false Copies.

Licensed and Entred according to Order.

Jan: 13

London, Printed by *Peter Cole*, at the signe of the *Printing-
Presse* in *Cornhill*, neer the *Royall Exchange*, over
against *Popes-head-alley*. 1644.

The Archbishop of Canterbury
STEPHEN C. H.

OR
His Funeral Sermon

Preach'd by himself on the Scaffold on
Tower Hill, on Friday the 10.
of January, 1644.

Upon which was
Also the Prayers which he said at the same
time and place before his execution.

All which were by him written, and
being corrected that he would not be any way
be done him by any private in false Copies.

Printed and Enticed according to Order.









London Printed by Peter Cole, at the signe of the Printing
 Presse in Cornhill, next the Royall Exchange, over
against Peter's Church, 1644.

THE
 Archbishop of Canter-
 bury his Funerall Ser-
 mon, Preacht by him-
 self on the Scaffold on
 Tower-hill,

Vpon Heb. 12. 1, 2.

*Let us run with patience that race that
 is set before us, looking unto Jesus the
 author and finisher of our faith, who
 for the joy that was set before him, en-
 dured the Crosse, despising the shame,
 and is set downe at the right hand of
 the Throne of God.*

Good People,



 Oul' pardon my old Memo-


 ry, and upon so sad occasi-


 ons as I am come to this


 place, to make use of my Pa-
 pers, I dare not trust my self otherwise.

Good People,

This is a very uncomfortable place to
 Preach in, and yet I shall begin with
 a Text of Scripture, in the twelfth of the
Hebrews,

*Let us run with patience that race that
 is set before us, looking unto Jesus the
 author and finisher of our faith, who
 for the joy that was set before him, en-
 dured the Crosse, despising the shame,
 and is set downe at the right hand of
 the Throne of God.*

I have

I have been long in my race, and how I have looked unto Iesus the Author and finisher of my Faith, is best known to him: I am now come to the end of my race, and here I finde the Crosse, a death of shame, but the shame must be despised, or there is no coming to the right hand of God; Iesus despis'd the shame for me, and God forbid but I should despise the shame for him; I am going apace, as you see, towards the Red-sea, and my feet are upon the very brinks of it, an Argument, I hope, that God is bringing me to the Land of Promise, for that was the way by which of old he led his people; But before they came to the Sea, he instituted a Passe-over for them, a Lamb it was, but it was to bee eaten with very sowre Herbs, as in the Twelfth of *Exodus*.

I shall obey, and labour to digest the sowre Herbs, as well as the Lamb, and I shall remember that it is the Lords Passeeover; I shall not think of the Herbs, nor be angry with the hands which gathered them, but look up onely to him who instituted the one, and governeth the other: For men can have no more power over me, then that which is given them from above; I am not in love with this passage through the red Sea, for I have the weaknesse and infirmity of flesh and blood in me, and I have prayed as my Saviour taught me, and exampled me, *Ut transires calix ista,*

That this Cup of red Wine might passe away from me, but since it is not that my will may, his will be done, and I shall most willingly drink of this Cup as deep as he

pleases, and enter into this Sea, I and passe through it, in the way that he shall be pleased to leade me.

And yet (Good People) it would bee remembred, That when the Servants of God, old *Israel*, were in this boistrous Sea, and *Aaron* with them, the Egyptians which persecuted them, and did in a manner drive them into that Sea, were drowned in the same waters, while they were in pursuit of them: I know my God whom I serve, is as able to deliver me from this Sea of Blood, as he was to deliver the three Children from the furnace, *Daniel* 3.

And I most humbly thank my Saviour for it, my Resolution is now, as theirs was then; their Resolution was, They would not worship the Image which the KING had set up; nor shall I the Imaginations which the P-E-O-P-L-E are setting up, nor will I forsake the Temple, and the Truth of GOD, to follow the Bleating of *Jeroboams* Calves in *Dan* and in *Bethel*.

And I pray God blesse all this People, and open their eyes, that they may see the right way; for if it fall out that the blinde lead the blinde, doubtlesse they will both into the ditch: For my self, I am, (and I acknowledge it in all humility) a most grievous sinner many wayes, by thought, word and deed, and therefore I cannot doubt but that God hath mercy in store for me a poor penitent, as well as for other sinners; I have, upon this sad occasion, ransack'd every corner of my heart, and yet I thank God, I have not found any of my
sins

sins that are there, any sins now deserving death, by any known Law of this Kingdom; and yet thereby I charge nothing upon my Iudges (I humbly beseech you I may rightly be understood, I charge nothing in the least degree upon my Iudges) for they are to proceed by proof, by valuable Witnesses, and in that way I or any Innocent in the world may justly be condemned: And I thank God, though the weight of the Sentence lye very hea-
 vie upon me, yet I am as quiet within, as (I thank Christ for it) I ever was in my life: And though I am not only the first Archbishop, but the first man that ever dyed in this way, yet some of my Predecessors have gone this way, though not by this meanes: for *Elseguis* was hurried away and lost his head by the *Danes*; and *Simon Sudbury* in the fury of *Wat Tyler* and his fellowes: And long before these *Saint Iohn Baptist* had his head danced off by a lewd woman; and *Saint Cyprian* Archbishop of Carthage submitted his head to a persecuting sword. Many examples great and good, and they teach me patience, for I hope my cause in Heaven will looke of another dye then the colour that is put upon it here upon earth; and some comfort it is to me, not only that I goe the way of these great men in their severall Generations; but also that my charge (if I may not be partiall) lookes somewhat like that against *Saint Paul* in the 25, of the *Acts*, for he was accused for the Law and the Temple, that is the Law and Religion; and like that of *St. Stephen* in the sixth of the *Acts*, for breaking the Ordinances which *Moses* gave us, which Ordinances were Law and Religion: but you'll say, doe I then compare my selfe with the integrity of *Saint Paul*, and *Saint Ste-*
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ven,

ven? no, God forbid, farre be it from me; I only raise a comfort to my selfe, that these great Saints and servants of God were thus laid up in their severall times; And it is very memorable that Saint *Paul*, who was one of them, and a great one, that helped on the accusation against Saint *Steven*, fell afterwards into the selfe same accusation himselfe, yet both of them great Saints and servants of God; I but perhaps a great clamour there is, that I would have brought in Popery, I shall answer that more fully by and by, in the meane time, you know what the Pharisees said against Christ himselfe, in the eleventh of *John*, *If we let him alone, all men will beleeve on him, Et veniunt Romani, and the Romanes will come and take away both our place and the Nation.* Here was a causelesse cry against Christ that the Romans would come, and see how just the Iudgement of God was, they crucified Christ for feare least the Romans should come, and his death was that that brought in the Romans upon them, God punishing them with that which they most feared: and I pray God this clamour of *veniunt Romani*, (of which I have given to my knowledge no just cause) helpe not to bring him in; for the Pope never had such a Haruest in England since the Reformation, as he hath now upon the Sects and divisions that are amongst us; in the meane time, *by honour and dishonour, by good report and evill report, as a deceiver and yet true*, am I now passing out of this world.

Some particulars also I think not amisse to speake of: and first this I shall be bold to speake of the King, our gracious Sovereigne, He hath been much traduced by some for labouring to bring in Popery, but upon my
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Conscience (of which I am now going to give God a present account) I know him to be as free from this Charge I thinke as any man living, and I hold him to be as sound a Protestant, according to the Religion by Law established as any man in this Kingdom, and that He will venter His Life as farre and as freely for it; and I thinke I doe or should know both His affection to Religion, and His grounds upon which that affection is built, as fully as any man in England.

The second particular is concerning this great and populous City, which God blesse, here hath been of late a fashion taken up to gather hands, and then goe to the Honourable and great Court of the Kingdome, the Parliament, and clamour for Iustice, as if that great and wise Court, (before whom the causes come which are unknown to the many;) could not, or would not doe Iustice, but at their call and appointment; a way which may endanger many an innocent man, and plucke innocent blood upon their owne heads, and perhaps upon this City also, which God forbid: and this hath beene lately practiz'd against my selfe, God forgive the setters of this, with all my heart I begge it, but many well-meaning people are caught by it: In *Saint Stevens* case, when nothing else would serve, they stirred up the people against him, *Acts 6.* and *Herod* went just the selfe-same way, for when he had kill'd *Saint James*, he would not venture upon *Saint Peter* too, till he saw how the people tooke it, and were pleased with it, in the 12 of the *Act.* But take heed or having your hands full of blood, in the first of *Isaiah*, for there is a time best known to himselfe, when

when God among other sinnes makes inquisition for blood; and when Inquisition is on foot, the Psalmist tells us, *Psalm 9.* that God remembers, that is not all, *that God remembers and forgets not* (saith the Prophet) *the complaints of the poore*; and he tells you what poore they are in the ninth verse, the poore whose blood is shed by such kind of meanes: Take heed of this, *It is a fearefull thing* (at any time) *so fall into the hands of the living God*, in the 12. of the *Hebrews*: but it is fearefull indeed, and then especially, when he is making his Inquisition for blood, and therefore with my prayers to avert the Prophecie from the City, let mee desire that this City would remember the Prophecie that is expressed, *Jeremiah 26. 15.*

The third particular, is this poore Church of England, that hath flourished and been a shelter to other neighbouring Churches, when stormes have driven upon them; but alas, now it is in a storme it selfe, and God knowes whether, or how it shall get out; and which is worse than a storme from without, it is become like an Oake cleft to shivers with wedges made out of its owne body, and that in every cleft, prophanesse and irreligion is creeping in apace; while as *Prosper* saith, Men that introduce prophanesse are cloaked with a name of imaginary religion; for we have in a manner almost lost the substance, and dwell much, nay too much a great deale in Opinion; and that Church which all the Iesuites machinations in these parts of Christendome could not ruine, is now fallen into a great deale of danger by her own.

The last particular (for I am not willing to be tedious, I shall hasten to goe out of this miserable world) is my selfe, and I beseech you, as many as are within hearing, observe me, I was borne and baptized in the bosome of the Church of *England*, as it stands yet established by Law, in that profession I have ever since lived, and in that profession of the Protestant Religion here established I come now to die; this is no time to dissemble with God, least of all in matter of Religion, and therefore I desire it may be remembred; I have alwayes lived in the Protestant Religion established in *England*, and in that I come now to die: What Clamors and Slanders I have endured for labouring to keepe an Uniformity in the externall service of God according to the Doctrine and Discipline of this Church all men knowes, and I have abundantly felt: Now at last I am accused of high Treason in Parliament, a crime which my soule ever abhorred; this Treason was charged upon me to consist of two parts; An endeavour to subvert the Law of the Realme, and a like endeavour to overthrow the true Protestant Religion established by those Laws. Besides my Answers, which I gave to the severall Charges, I protested my innocency in both Houses; It was said, Prisoners protestations at the Barre must not be taken *de ipso*; I can bring no witnesse of my heart, and the intentions thereof, therefore I must come to my Protestation, not at the bar, but to my Protestation at this houre and instant of my death, in which (as I said before) I hope all men will be such charitable Christians as not to thinke I would die and dissemble my Religion, I doe therefore here, with that caution that I

delivered before, without all prejudice in the world to my Judges, that are to proceed *secundum allegata & probata*, and so to be understood, I die in the presence of Almighty God and all his holy and blessed Angels, & I take it now on my death, That I never endeavoured the subversion of the Laws of the Realme, nor never any change of the Protestant Religion into Popish superstition: and I desire you all to remember this Protest of mine, for my innocency in these and from all manner of Treasons whatsoever.

I have beene accused likewise as an enemy to Parliaments, no, God forbid, I understood them, and the benefits that comes by them, a great deale too well to be so, but I did indeed dislike some misgovernments (as I conceived) of some few one or two Parliaments; and I did conceive humbly that I might have reason for it, for *corruptio optimi est pessima*: There is no corruption in the world so bad as that which is of the best thing in it selfe, for the better the thing is in nature, the worse it is corrupted; and this being the highest and greatest Court, over which no other can have any jurisdiction in the Kingdome, if by any way a mis-government (which God forbid) should any wayes fall upon in the Subjects of this Kingdome are left without all manner of remedie, and therefore God preserve them, and blesse them, and direct them, that there may be no mis-conceit, much lesse mis-government amongst them. I will not enlarge my selfe any further, I have done, I forgive all the world, all and every of those bitter enemies, or others whatsoever they have beene, which have any wayes prosecuted me in this kinde, and I humbly desire to be forgiven first of God, and then
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of every man, whether I have offended him or no, if he doe but conceive that I have; Lord, doe thou forgive me, and I beg forgiveness of him, and so I heartily desire you to joyne with me in prayer.

The Bishop of *Canterburies* first prayer on the Scaffold.

O Eternall God and mercifull Father, looke downe upon me in mercy, in the riches and fulnesse of all thy mercies looke upon me, but not till thou hast nailed my sins to the Crosse of Christ; looke upon me, but not till thou hast bathed me in the blood of Christ, not till I have hid my selfe in the Wounds of Christ, that so the punishment that is due to my sinnes may passe away and goe over me; and since thou art pleased to try me to the uttermost, I humbly beseech thee give me now in this great instant full patience, proportionable comfort, a heart ready to die for my sinnes and the Kings happinesse, and this Churches preservation; and my zeale to these (farre from arrogancy be it spoken) is all the sin (humane frailtie excepted, and all incidents thereunto) which is yet knowne of me in
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this

this particular for which I now come to
 suffer. I say in this particular of Treas-
 son; but otherwise my sinnes are many
 and great, Lord pardon them all, and
 those especially whatsoever they be which
 have drawne downe this present Judge-
 ment upon me and when thou hast given
 me strength to beare it, then doe with me
 as seems best in thy owne eyes; and carry
 me through death, that I may looke up-
 on it in what vilage soever it shall appeare
 to me, and that there may be a stop of this
 issue of blood in this more then miserable
 Kingdom. I shall desire that I may pray
 for the people too as well as for my selfe:
 O Lord, I beseech thee, give grace of re-
 pentance to all people that have a thirst
 for blood but if they will not repent, then
 scatter their devices so, and such as are o-
 shall be contrary to the glory of thy great
 Name, the truth and sincerity of Religi-
 on, the establishment of the King, and his
 posteritie after him, in their iust Rights
 and Priviledges, the honour and comfor-
 tation of Parliaments in their ancient
 and iust power, the preservation of this
 poore

poore Church in her truth, peace, and patrimony, and the settlement of this distracted and distressed people under their ancient Lawes and in their native Liberties, and when thou hast done all this in meeke mercy for them, O Lord fill their hearts with thankfulness, and with religious dutifull obedience to thee and thy Commandments all their dayes: So Amen Lord Jesus; and I beseech thee receive my soule to mercy. Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdome come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our dayly bread. And forgive us our trespases, as we forgive them that trespasse against us. And lead us not into temptation: but deliver us from evil. Amen.

When he had finished his Prayer, he gave his Paper to Doctor *Sterna*, saying, Doctor, I give you this, that you may shew it to your Fellow-Chaplains, that they may see how I am gone out of the world, and Gods blessing and his mercy be upon them.

Then turning to Master *Hinde*, he said, *Hinde*, I beseech you heare me, I cannot say I have spoken every word as it is in my Paper, but I have gone very neere

it,

it; to help my memory as well as I could; but I beseech you, let me have no wrong done me.

Hinde. Sir, you shall not, If I doe any wrong let it fall on my owne head. I pray God have mercy on your soule.

Cant. I thanke you: I did not speake with any jealousie, as if you would doe so, but I spake it onely as a poore man going out of the world, it is not possible for me to keep to the words in my paper, and a phraze may doe me wrong.

I did thinke here would have beene an empty Scafold, that I might have had roome to die; I beseech you let me have an end of this misery, for I have endured it long.

When roome was made, he spake thus: Ile pull off my Doublet, and Gods will be done, I am willing to goe out of the world; no man can be more willing to send me out, then I am willing to be gone.

Sir John Clothworthy. What speciall Text of Scripture now is comfortable to a man in his departure?

Cant. *Cupio Dissolvi & esse cum Christo.*

Sir John Clothworthy. That is a good desire, but there must be a foundation for that desire, as assurance.

Cant. No man can expresse it, it is to bee found within.

Sir John Clothworthy. It is founded upon a word though, and that word would be knowne.

Cant. That word is the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and that alone.

And turning to the Executioner, he gave him money, saying, Here honest friend, God forgive thee, and doe thy office upon me in mercy.

The

The Executioner desiring him to give some signe when he should strike, he answered: Yes, I will, but let me fit my selfe first.

Then kneeling down on his knees, he prayed thus:

The Bishop of *Canterburies* last prayer on the Scaffold.

LORD, I am comming as fast as I can, I know I must passe through the shadow of death before I can come to see thee, but it is but umbra mortis, a meere shadow of death, a little darknesse upon nature, but thou by thy merits and passion hast broke through the iawes of death; so LORD receive my soule, and have mercy upon me, and blesse this Kingdome with peace and with plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood amongst them, for Jesus Christs sake, if it be thy Will.

And when he said, *Lord receive my soule* (which was his signe) the Executioner did his office.

FINIS.

[illegible]

The Buff of Cambridge 1870-71

[The following text is mirrored bleed-through from the reverse side of the document:]

I am continuing as before
I have been very busy lately
and I am sorry to hear that
you are not well. I hope you
will soon get better.
I am writing you now
in great haste. I must close
for this time. Write soon.
Your affectionate friend,
John G. Thompson.

[Circular postmark stamp:]
BRITISH
POST OFFICE
NEW YORK

[Faint handwritten text at bottom:]
And when I see you again
I will tell you all the news.

244

Mercurius Britannicus.

Communicating the affaires of great
BRITAIN E.

For the better Information of the People.



From Monday the 6. of January to Monday the 13. of January. 1644.

HOW now ! What *Aulicus* jaded ? His *Hackney* wit quite *founder'd* ? Has *Digby* no leisure from plotting to spoyle a *Treaty* ? Is *Berkenheads* devil utterly cast out ? And will none of the *Swing* in *Court* or *Univerſity*, entertaine him ? O Miraculous ! See then what a powerfull *Spell* is in the Reverend name of a *Parliament* : What ſecret *Coniuration* flowes abroad with the *Inke* of *Britannicus*, that within a few *Moneths* the *Iunto* ſhould be frighted out of their *Circle* ; and the *Cavalerie* almoſt to a diſbanding ; and the *Cabinet-Councell* to ſo grand a condeſcenſion ; and railing *Aulicus* to a mannerly ſilence ; Is not this fine ? But I muſt not have done yet ; for the *Pamphlet* hath fits of ſulling, and reviving again upon the ſudden, his *Pulſe* alwayes keeping time with ſucceſſes and loſſes : Now and then he makes a ſhift to temper his *Inke* with a little plundered *Aqua-vita* ; and ſhould *Grenville* ſend but one poor bottell of conſolation from the *Weſt*, you might ſee him gather breath to cry, ſie upon *Treaties*, and call *Rebells* again. In the meane time, we muſt imagine him *a la mort*, and expecting a good houre of *Reſurrection*.

Aulicus ſilent.

Their condition at Oxford.

And who can tell, but that the *houre* is already come ? for we heare talke of (I know not how many) *Crownes* in gold, ſent from *France* to *Oxford*, being a friendly *Contribution* to her *Majeſty* out of the *Frieries* and *Nunneries*, toward the eſtabliſhing of the *Proteſtant Religion* in *Great Brittain*. But it was rumoured alſo, that the *Queen Regent* of *France* had ſeized upon ſome parcells of this imaginary contribution : Do ye think *Queen Mary* will be ſuffered to carry the *Crownes* out of

Rumours of gold from France.

Honour of
the Queen
of France.

every Kingdom? I have heard say, that she sent away (some yeares since) the Crownes of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for a Present to His Holinesse, and (like a kinde wife) left never a one for her Husband, and Children; and was it not a rare patterne of devotion? But the Queen of France is wiser than to follow it: She loves her Son better than to part with any of his Crownes; and strives not only to keep, but purchase more for him; to which end she goes on conquering against her own Kindred and Country; and though a Catholique daughter of Spaine, yet (most nobly) is wedded to the interest of the State of France, as really as she was unto their Prince. This were a commendation in our Queene, this had been the way to be honoured and loved by a People, and not to sneake in Closets and corners, with a company of Prelates, Friars, and Parasites, to plot the ruine of a famous Nation, and afterwards to ramble up and down Christendome (like another Margarite, who yet had better cause) that weapons and wild-fire, might not be wanting to encrease the flame in England.

Basenefse of
the enemy a
cause of Jealously.

But it is exceedingly hoped, that this flame will now be quenched by a Treaty, though I must tell you, that the former experienced basenefse of the enemy, will hardly give me leave to hope so: howsoever, you shall see that nothing will be wanting on the Parliaments part, toward the settling of a well-grounded Peace: For the House of Peeres and Committee of both Kingdomes, are already agreed, as touching the matter of Treaty, and sent it to the house of Commons, where it will receive a speedy dispatch; It runs thus,

The manner
of the Treaty

THat His Majesties loyall Subjects, the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament at Westminster, have considered of His Majesties Message for a happy Peace, sent by the Duke of Richmond and Earle of Southampton, and do humbly offer in answer thereunto, that the place of Treaty be the Towne of Vxbridge, that they intend to send foure Lords, and eight Commons, and some of the Commissioners of Scotland, and desire that His Majesty send a like number, and that they desire that the Proposition as to matters of Religion, and that of settling the Militia be first insisted upon, and determined in twenty dayes after the first sitting, and as to His Majesties Propositions, intimated by His Messengers, they have appointed that they be by those that by Parliament shall be appointed to treat, sent to them to Westminster from Vxbridge.

Thus you see, how we have paved a faire way as far as Vxbridge, in hope to bring his Majesty to Westminster in peace; And if they will make a smooth way on the Oxford side, all will be well; but the fear of

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it is, that the *belov'd Incendiaries*, which are mark'd with a black Coale by the State, will dig up all the *high-waies* of plain dealing; *juggling*, and casting *Mists*, and *stumbling blocks* in his journey: One *stumbling-block* is that, whereupon *Digby* ought to be beheaded, as also the severall *blocks* belonging to the two *Palatines*, *Bristol*, *Cottingham*, & the rest of the *rare Crew*; these and some of the rest (if they will not run away like *Cowards*) may have the honour of the *Block*; but if they will wrong themselves so much, as to flie and die *Runagates* in *Rome*, *Spain*, and *France*, who can help it? These are the *Oxford Patriots* of the first magnitude; but with these there are an inferiour sort of *Malignants* in *Conjunction*, as *Harry Jermin Esquire*, and the rest: whose *halters* will be as so many *snarcs* in the way, and give his *Majesties* good intentions many a *Snares* in the shrewd fall (I fear:) yet (me think) it were an easie matter to step over, way, or beside all these into the *Throne* at *Westminster*.

But if there were any intention of *stepping* thither at all, what means so huge a preparation for war by the *Kings party*, being in motion every way, as if they would over-run us at *Spring*: We heard of 4000. *horse* and *Dragoons*, under the command of *Goring*, quartering at *Winchester*, and being gotten also as far as *Petersfield* and *Petworth*; and that they had gotten *Christ-Church*: Nay, then I know they will not stay long there; for of all things *Goring* cares least for *Christs Church*: This is the *blaspheming Infidell*, son to the old *Publican* in *France*, who (if *oaths* could prevaile) were able to *swear Christ* himself, and all his *Members* out of the *Church*; and therefore *Christ* will provide better for his *Church* and *people*, than to let him stay long there: In the mean time, we shall not be wanting in the means; for care is taken by the *Committee* of both Kingdoms, and also by the *Houses*, to send them *packing*.

Hopton is fortifying *amaine* at the *Devises*; but all the *devices* in the world will never keep him from the reach of a *Parliament*; this is he that first devised how to ruine the *Kingdom*, by leavying *forces* in the *West*; since which he hath used all the *shifts* and *devices* which could be imagined, to make himselfe, and his *Country* miserable; and now when the *People* languish in expectation of *Peace* by a *Treaty*, he to lengthen the war, is fortifying at the *Devises* in *Wiltshire*; but I fear greater fortifications at the *Devises* in *Oxford*.

Another party of the *Kings* is gone into *Dorsetshire* under the command of poor *Sir Lewis Dives*, who pines for his *Rents* in *Bedfordshire*, and promised a little while since, to come a *Plundering* among his *Tenants*; but now you see, which way he is gone to exercise the *faculty*.

Digby.

Another Party gone towards *Evesham* with Sir John Digby the Papist: All of the name (I think) either *Papists* or *Archeists*; no wonder then, that they bear such sway in his *Majesties* Counsell, and Armies.

Colonell
Ludlow.

We have been at no losse in the *West* by this expedition (considering the relief of *Taunton*) though we had sad *News* concerning Colonell *Ludlows* Regiment, being over-power'd at *Salisbury*; yet our *Souldiers* behaved themselves most gallantly in the fight: One hundred got away with their horses, and as many without; Colonell *Ludlow* himself with 16. men breaking through the thickest of them, and doing execution on all sides: the Enemy lost many men in this action, and many wounded.

Colonel Hol-
borne.

From Colonel *Holborne* we hear of his, with the *Plimouth* Regiment, and some others falling upon the Enemy about *Bridgewater*, taking 200. horse, and *tugging* hard for the Town of *Bridgewater*.

Colonel
Cooke.

Colonel *Fielding* was snapt lately by Colonel *Cooke*; which is much that so great a *Commander* of the Kings, should be gotten without expence of blood; this is that *Fielding*, who stood so long upon the *Scaffold* at *Oxford*, to lose his head for the surrender of *Redding*.

The State of
our new
Army.

Our *Armie* is to be new molded into this posture; 6000. horse, 14000. foot, to be constantly paid; which with our other forces in the *North*, the *Scotish*, *Yorkshire*, *Leicester*, *Warwicke*, &c. will make a pretty number to *sirke* the *Cavaliers* next *Summer* into *Cornwall*: Me think, I see them there again already, tempting our *Commanders*, and wooing them to sell their honours just like *Ware*, for the petty price of some infamous *Lordship*; and his *Majesty* *Episkolizing* the second time to our *Generall*.

On *Tuesday* (*January* 7) the Lords at a conference presented the reasons, why they did not think fit to passe the grand *Ordinance* for exempting *Members*: concerning which, when we hear further from the house of *Commons*, you shall receive satisfaction: Only in the mean time I could wish that some end might be made of that businesse with all speed, that the *Souldiery* and people, be not held too long in suspense.

Beseflish ca-
ben.

Oxford is so well rid, by reason of the many Parties sent severall wayes, that they stir not much abroad; only we heard lately of a petty designe of theirs in fortifying *Beseflish* house, belonging to the honourable *Speaker* of the house of *Commons*; where they had placed two or 300. *Musquetiers*: But before they were well warme in the place, a party of ours from *Abingdon* were resolved to give them a house-warming, which they did to the purpose, and soon gained the place, without so much as the least disturbance from them at *Oxford*, though but five miles distant: We hear further from *Abingdon*, that our horse have bin so active as to disturbe the enemies quarters, on that side *Oxford* next them,

them, that they are forced to remove to the other side, toward *Woodstocke*; so that our friends at *Abingdon* have gotten elbow room on both sides.

The *Lieutenant* which should have assisted Colonell *Browne* in the late designe, for surprizing of the *guard* at *Oxford*, is already executed: they make *quicke worke* alwayes of such matters; nay, many times before men are halfe examined, or convicted of the crimes laid against them: But here they can *linger* out, and often escape an *execution*: I hope Master *Le Strange* will witness this for truth; for upon the favourable debate in both *houses* concerning his *Case* he is likely (notwithstanding the *Sentence* of death passed against him) to finde mercy at the last.

We hear, that the *Engineere* which discovered the Plot of our surprizing the *Guard* at *Oxford*, was taken among the rest at *Besefish*. Oh, this was one of *George Digbys Engineere*s; and therefore I think it were best to put him to the wracke, for he can (I dare say) discover more *Plots* than one, and it must be *skrew'd* out of him: It may be he can informe us, what *Engine* his *Lordship* means to use, to overthrow the *Treaty*, and wrest his *Majestic* into as preposterous *courses* as ever: It may be he can tell us, that this *Treaty* it selfe is but a meere *Engine*, to draw us into further *inconveniences*, and involve us deeper in the *War*.

There is presented from the Reverend Assembly to the house of Commons, an Ordinance for dayes of recreation for *Servants* and *Apprentices*, which I mentioned the last weeke: The second *Thursday* of every *moneth* must be the day, from ten a clock in the morning, till five at night; and the penalty for *drunkenesse*, is to be deprived of this Liberty for the whole year after: Is not this better than to have *Popish Holy dayes*? than to Tittle most devoutly by the *Kalendar*, till the eyes look more red than the *Rubricke*, roaring out *bowling* devotions till *midnight*, without care or controule?

Our Forces in *Lincolnshire* are in excellent condition; we hear that the gallant Colonells, *Roffiter* and *Fleetwood*, with their gallant *Regiments*, have enlarged their Quarters as far as *Oundale* in *Northamptonshire*. Could we but once *unkennell* the *Newarkers*, and do a small feat or two more (which might easily be brought to passe) there afterwards, all for the present were at an end there; and the whole *North* as good as cleared: So that our Armies both *English*, and *Scotish*, might come and help to fright the enemy *Westward* again, and coope them as they coopt us up in *Cornwall*.

A gallant exploit performed lately by Colonell *Martin* Governour of *Alisbury*, in taking (as it is reported) no kisse than the *Princes* whole Troope

Troope, both horſe and men compleatly armed : two more ſuch *bouts* will help to recrute Colonell Ludlow.

They talke of *newes* out of the *Veſt*, how that the *Parliaments* ſhips on the *Veſterne* coaſts have taken a Ship paſſing from *Exceſter*, laden with *Perpetuana's*, to the value of *two and twenty thouſand pounds* : beleeve it, when you ſee cauſe.

A letter from the Heroicke Lady *Chriſtina*, daughter to the renowned *Adolphus*, and Queen of *Swethland* ; importing firſt, *Letters of credit* to the *Commiſſioner* employed therewith ; ſetting forth the ancient amity between the *Crownes* of *England* and *Scotland*, and that Kingdome of *Swethland* ; and that *She* is intereſted in the ſame *Cauſe* (the defence of the *Gospel*) with both theſe *Kingdomes* ; offering further with all the *Intereſt* ſhe hath, to be a meanes to ſettle the differences in this kingdom, if her mediation be held fit, and expreſſing much affection to the *Parliaments* of both theſe kingdomes, and takes notice of the affronts offered by the King of *Denmarke* to *Navigation*, and particularly to the Ships trading into the *Sound* with commodities belonging to the *Crownes* of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Swethland*, putting taxes and impositions on them, beyond all example, and contrary to all agreement. What thinks the enemy of this ? It is high time for them, not onely to acknowledge, but ſubmit unto the *Parliament*, when amity, and mingling of *Intereſts* with us, is ſo earneſtly ſought for by ſo potent, and Heroicke a *Queene*. You ſee how her zeale ſparkles out of that cold *Region*, as if it meant to devoure *Popery* here, as her *Fathers* did in *Germany* ; where (like another *Sampſon*) he burnt up the *Philiftines* corne, the *harveſt* (I meane) of *Superſtitions*, which was ready ripe for deſtruction by fire and ſword : I am perſwaded, that this valiant and warlike *Nation*, will be a maine *wheele* in the work of *Providence*, to bring about the approaching ruine of the great *Whore* ; to help once again to pull down that proud, tyrannous, and inceſtuous houſe of *Auſtria*, the onely grand pillar of the *Roman* *fabricke* ; which being once ſhaken, *Italy* muſt ſoon tumble to the depth of *Infamy* and *Vengeance*.

The noble and valiant Lord *Fairfax* is very induſtrious for the totall clearing of *Yorkſhire* : *Pomfract* he begins to take by *peece-meale*, firſt the Towne, ſince that the Church, where they have raiſed a Battery againſt the Caſtle : which ſure will not long hold out, having been a place fatal and unlucky to Princes. Beſide this, he hath beſieged ſeverall other Caſtles, as *Sandall Caſtle*, *Skipton*, *Boston Caſtle*, and ſome other ſtrong garrifons in that County. *Fairfax* the glory of the North, how will that name be revered by ſucceeding Generations !

Blimouth,

Queene of
Swethlands
letter.

Cold comfort
for the en-
emy.

Swedes will
be a ſcourge
to Rome.

Fairfax.

Plimouth, and the *Island of St. Nicholas*, are in a safe condition; me thinke, *Dicke Greenville* and his *Chough*, might betake themselves upon a more probably advantageous designe, than to lie spending themselves and their provision so neer a *havin Town* (the greatest in *England*) and open for reliefe from all parts; but the *villains* malice is bounded, and fetter'd to an unprofitable residence there-about, only to keep in (as well as he can) the valiant garrison, though he have small hope of doing any good upon them: That man wel deserves some hundred pounds, which could bring that *dapper heathen* into the compasse of a penny halter.

Plimouth.

Greenville.

Both *houses* have agreed upon the *Directory*, and the Ordinance annexed to it, for taking away the booke of *Common Prayer*: which had ere this time been at the *Presse*, but that it was thought necessary to send it first into *Scotland*: The very same day also, Sentence was passed against *William* of *Canterbury*; thus the *Dad* and the *Darling*, were both condemned together, both guilty of *high-Treason*, the one against the *State*, the other against *God*; robbing him of the purity of *Worship*, due unto him, and thrusting the *Ordinances* quite out of the *Church*; tickling mens ears, and puffing up their devotions with *Anthemes*, and *Responses* blowne out of *Organ-Pipes*, as if there were no Musicke to a deuout soule, but what is let in at the ears, when the *harmonie* of true Celestiall contemplations is rather hindred, than (as some pretend) furthered by such triuiall *trinklings*, either of String or Pipe.

Canterbury and *Common prayer* both condemned together.

Out of *Shropshire* we hear, that there are above a thousand in Armes about *Clun Castle*, and *Bishop Castle*, standing out against both sides, being neither for the King, nor for the *Parliament*, but stand onely upon their own guard, for the preservation of their liues and fortunes. The occasion of it, was the friendly usage which they recieved from his *Majesties* mercifull officers in those parts: and particularly from one Colonel *Van-Gare* a *Dutch man*: they are absolutely resolu'd (notwithstanding all the Intreaties used by the *Commissioners* of *Array*, not to lay down their Armes, untill his *Majesty* grant them their own conditions, which are these: 1. To have restitution of all wrongs done by *Van Gare*: 2. To have him and all his souldiers expelled their Country. 3. That the Kings two Garrisons at *Hop-say house*, and *Lay-house*, shall be removed, and demolished. 4. That they may have Commanders of their own. And 5. we hope the kinde discipline, wherewith they haue been tutoured by the *Cavaliers*, will teach them how to wheele about to the *Parliament*, and so make us a faire introduction to a quick dispatch in *Wales*.

Insurrection in *Shropshire*,

Their desires.

On *Friday* last, Intelligence was brought, that the enemy was very busie about *Winchester*, quartering within four miles of *Portsmouth*; which Garrison (some say) was faced by *Giring*, who had an intent to surprize the *Bridge*, to make way into the *Island*; but as for any party of theirs being at *Petersfield*, it is false: If they have any designe against *Portsmouth*, the Garrison is sufficiently provided to oppose them, as it was certified by a Letter from the *Gouernour*.

The enemy at *Winchester*

The same day also the house of *Commons* voted that hereafter all Commanders and Souldiers, whose Charge is neer the *Line*, to interrupt the enemy, should be very punctuall.

A Vote.

punctuall to observe the directiōs alwayes given from the *Committee* of both Kingdoms: Also the *Commons* sent up a *Message* to the *house of Peers*, to desire a speedy passing of the grand *Ordinance* for *exemption of Members*, the neglect whereof would much prejudice the proceeding of the *Armies*. I hope the *Lords* will not dally, while the enemies are active so neer us.

Coll. Gerard.

A Post on Friday night brought a Letter to Town, informing that Col. Gerard with some 1500 horse is come as far as *Daventry* in *Northamptonshire*: We should do well to look that way also.

More forces sent for out of Ireland.

From Capt *Swanley* we have confident Intelligence, of his seizing a *Barke* bound for *Ireland*, wherein were taken the Lord *Taafe*, an *Irish Rebel*, and *Commissioner* from them, in high favour with his Majesty, one *Barry*, and *Tisborne*, with some 30. others of quality, going to *Ireland*, with Letters and Instructions from his Majesty, for the raising, and bringing over more forces thence into this Kingdom. Do you thinke any good will come of this *Treaty*, when they send in such haite for more *Rebels* out of *Ireland*?

Kentishmen.

The noble *Kentishmen* are of themselves, up in *Armes*, in a *Body* of 8000 horse and foot, ready to joyn with our forces, for driving the enemy further from our *Quarters*: So quick are the *Resolutions* of that famous County.

Canterbury his Text upon Tower-hill.

On Friday the little *Fire-works* of *Canterbury* were extinguish't upon *Tower-hill*, whether being come, he did more then he had done many yeares before; he preached to the people upon this Text, *Heb. 12. Looking to Iesus Christ, the Author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him, endured the Crosse, despised the shame, and is set down at the Right hand of God*. Among other passages, he said, that he was not the first man that ever went this way, but that some of his Predecessors had gone before him, as *Thomas Becket* and *Saint John Baptist*: Was it not well done to joyn these two together? *Thomas Becket* was indeed his Predecessor, both in Place, Ambition, and Pride, and plotted (as he did) with the *Pope* to bring misery upon *Prince* and *People*, for which he was afterward *Sainted* at *Rome*, so that he was adored by the name of *Saint Thomas of Canterbury*: And can the *Pope* do lesse for this man? What fine sport it were to see the *Malignants* and *Cavaliers*, trotting on *Pilgrimage* to *Saint William of Canterbury* Monument, as our *Ancestors* did to *Becket*: If the present deluge for *Papery* should prevaile, this (I dare say) would come to passe in *Soveraignty*, & with as serious devotion. Next of all he said, he died a Member in the bosome of the Church of England, as it is established by Law. He was the Head, and too proud to stoop so low as the bosome, unless it were the bosome of the State, where he sucked advantage to himself so long, till he had almost brought down the Common wealth to a leane carcase: And ever and anon, he would be sucking the sincere milke of the word out of the bosome of the Church: He concluded that his Judges did proceed against him *secundum allegata, & probata*, that is, according to evidence; which is all one, as to confesse that his head was justly taken off: so farewell *William of Canterbury*.

Confession of guilt.

Doubt.

Whether the *Archbishop* of *Canterbury* were justly condemned as guilty of *Treason*, for endeavouring to subvert the fundamentall Laws of the land, to overthrow Religion, and introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannicall Government, though these particulars are not in expresse termes in the Statute, 25. E. 3. c. 2. declared to be *Treason*, for any inferior Courts to judge upon?

Satisfaction.

Yes; for the Intentions of the Law makers then were, that because crimes might hereafter fall out, which might be *Treason*, and yet not mentioned in that Statute, therefore saith the Statute, And because that many other like cases of *Treason* may happen in time to come, which a man cannot think nor declare, &c. From whence it appears that the Parliament (according to the fundamentall rule) reserved a power in themselves (being the supreme Courts of the Kingdom) to declare what was *Treason*, though not particularized in that Statute.

Printed according to Order for Robert White.

Or,

**THE PROPHECIES
IN THE OLD AND NEW
TESTAMENT CONCERNING THE
KINGDOME OF OUR SAVIOUR
IESVS CHRIST,**

**Vindicated from the miſinterpre-
tations of the Millenaries and ſpecially of
Mr. Maton in his book called *Iſraels redemption*,**

By

**ALEXANDER PETRIE *Minifter of the Scots
Kirk at Roterdame.***

**The epiſtle ſhevves the ground and pedigree
of the miſtake.**

To ſhew the originale of an error is a convincing of it.



AT ROTERDAME,

**Printed by Iſaak VVaesbergen, at the ſigne of
Jan: 13. Fame on the Steiger, 1644. 13th E**



To the vworthie and his beloved, the Scotcs and Englisbes
of the Scots congregation at Roterdame, Alexander Petrie wisheth
constancie in the faith which wes once delivered.

Some prophecies speak plainly of CHRIST, and can
not be understood of another; Esa. 9. 6. *Vnto us a child
is borne, unto us a sone is given, — his name shalbe called
Wonderfull, &c.* Some ar typical or delivered with
coveres of thinges signifying Christ, his offices and benefites.
And of these some ar spoken of the type or thing signifying, and
can be understood only of the thing signified, and some ar true
both of the type and of Christ ether in the same or in a different
maner, that is, some ar true of both in a proper sence; some ar true
of both in a tropical or figurative sence; and some ar true of the
one properly, and of the other figuratively. All these sortes ar
manifest in hundrie prophecies: here I touch one for all. 2 Sam. 7.
12. *When thy dayes be fulfilled, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers,*
(sayth the Lord unto David) *I will set up thy seed after thee, which
shall proceed out of thy bowelles, & I will establish his kingdome.* This
wes true in the persone of Solomon and of Christ too properly.
V. 13, *He shall build an house for my name.* This wes true of Solo-
mon in the proper acceptation of the word *house*, & figuratively
of Christ, who sayd Mat. 16. 18, *Upon this rock will I build my
Church.* It followes; *I will establish the throne of his kingdome for
ever.* This wes not true of Solomon in respect of his persone (for
he died) nether of his posteritie, from whom Iacob had foretold
that the scepter should departe at the coming of Shiloh Gen. 49.
10, but of Christ it is true: for his throne is established for ever
and ever Heb. 1. 8. v. 14. *I will be his father, and he shalbe my sone.*
This is true of Solomon in respect of adoption, and of Christ in
respect of eternal generation. Fiftly it is sayd there; *If he committe*

*iniquitie, I will chasten him with the rode of man—but my mercie shall
 not departe from him, as I tooke it from Saul. This is true of Solomon,
 and not of Christ (who wes free of sin) unlesse we understand his
 members, or their sines imputed unto him. V. 16, Thy house and
 thy kingdome shalbe established for ever before thee: thy throne shalbe
 established for ever. This can not be understood of David or Solo-
 mons house or kingdome (as experience proves now for the space
 of 1600 yeeres and more) but of Christs house and kingdome,
 which shall never faile. By this one passage it is manifest, 1, how
 miserable ignorance it is, to expone all the prophecies after one
 and the same maner or in a proper sense only; 2. that the Euan-
 gelistes and Apostles exponing these prophecies in a spiritual
 and figurative sense, doe not wreste them, even albeit these have
 been fulfilled some way before; but according to the intendment
 of the Spirit they bring them unto CHRIST, who is the end of
 the lawe and scope of the Prophetes. So the promises of delive-
 rance from Babel had their own accomplishment in the dayes
 of Ezra and Nehemia: but that wes not all the meaning of these
 prophecies, which wer in another maner and more fully per-
 formed by Christ: for this cause it is sayd Col. 1. 12, Giving thanks
 unto the Father, who hes made us meet to be partakers of the inheri-
 tance of the Saintes in lichte, who hes delivered us from the power of
 darknes, and hes translated us into the kingdome of his deare Sone, in
 whom we have redemption through his blood; and Rev. 5. 9. thou hast
 redeemed us unto God by thy blood out of everie kindred and people and
 natione. There is our Redeemer more glorious than Ezra or any
 other: there is our inheritance and kingdome better than Ieru-
 salem: and there is a redemption from all nationes. Now when
 these prophecies ar fulfilled once in respect of the type, and
 againe in a more transcendent maner by Christ; If we denie
 what God hes done, we ar false and ungrate: and if we expect
 them to be fulfilled yet again in the type, it wer a worse returning
 than that of the Galatians c. 4. 9: (that wes unto the types of his
 priestly, and this unto the types of his kingly office;) and Christ
 is become of none effect unto such. The elect Iewes did not rest
 upon the Mosaical types, but all the Prophetes gave witnesse unto
 Christ, that through his name whosoever believes in him shall receive*

remission of fines *Act. 10. 43.* they believed that through the grace of the Lord Iesus Christ they should be saved even as wee, *Act. 15. 11:* in this faith they all died, *Heb. 11. 13,* I say, This faith, because as faith is one in respect of the object, *Eph. 4. 5,* so the Apollie declares our faith by the example of the antientes. Neither did they rest on the promises as only earthly, but they desired a better countrey, that is heavenly, *Heb. 11. 16;* and when they wer tortured, they wold not accept deliverance from their tormentes, that they might obtain a better resurrection *v. 35.* Wes that an earthly hope? no: they believed the redemption of their soules by the Messias *Psal. 34. 22;* that he wes to be wounded for their transgressions, and bruised for their iniquities, and the chastisement of their peace wes to be upon Him, and that they wer to be healed by His stripes, *Esa. 53. 5.* And Symeon waiting for the consolation of Israel, when he sawe Him, blessed God, and sayd, Lord now let thy servant departe in peace—for my eyes have seene thy salvation, *Luk. 2. 29.* He craves not longer lyf to reigne with Christ on earth, but wes content to departe, having seen the salvation of God, the licht of the gentiles and glorie of Israel. And neverthelesse many Iewes sought righteounesse by the workes of the Lawe, and not by faith, *Rom. 9. 32,* and they looked upon the promises with a bodily ey only, as if the Messias wer to erect an earthly Monarchie at Ierusalem: and looking thorow these spectacles they could not think that Iesus Christ is the Messias, and so they stumbled at his worldly basenesse, & being miscaried in their braines they could not see His spiritual power and benefites. After their miserable exemple others acknowledging Iesus Christ to be the promised Messias, and not considering the difference of the promises have not attained fully unto the trueth of them, and so have erred in mistaking His natures and benefites. Thus Ebion thought him to be a man and not God, as if all the promises could be performed by a man endowed with singulare grace. Cerinthus lykwise held that Christ is only a man, and because he sawe Him not sitting on the throne of David, he held that Christ is not risen from the dead as yet, but shal rise and reigne in Ierusalem 1000 yeeres, and all His subjectes shal be satisfied with all maner of pleasures in meat, drinke, marriage, festival dayes, and offer oblationes and sacrifices, *Euseb. lib. 3. c. 25.* Vpon this

this occasion the Apostle Iohn wrote the gospell againe, and more
 largely than any other of the Euangelistes speakes of Christs
 Godheid, his wonderfull workes, his kingdome, resurrection and
 his coming again, especiall that the *Sone of man is now glorified*
c. 16. 33. that he hes overcome the world c. 16. 33. that his kingdome is
not of this world, and if his kingdome wer of this world, his seruantes
wold feight that he should not be deliuered unto the Iewes, but now is his
kingdome not from hence c. 18. 36; & of the cōdition of his subiectes
he sayth, Remember the word that I sayd unto you, the seruant is not
greater than the Lord: if they have persecuted mee, they will also per-
secute you c. 15. 20: Verely I say unto you, Yee shall weep and lament,
and the world shall reioyce, and you shalbe sorowfull, but your sorowe
shalbe turned into joy: these thinges have I spoken unto you, that in mee
ye might haue peace i. the world you shall haue tribulation, but be of
good cheer c. 16. 20. 33: And of his coming again he sayth, In my
Fathers house ar many mansions—if I goe and prepare a place for you,
I will come again, and receive you unto myself, that wer I am, there
you may be also c. 14. 2: now you haue sorowe, but I will see you again,
and your heart shal reioice, and your joy no man takes from you c. 16. 22.
 All which wordes wer written flatly aganst the errores of Cerin-
 thus, and teach us that Christs kingdome is not an earthly king-
 dome, nor delayed for one or two 1000 yeeres, but now is his
 kingdome, now he hes overcome the world, his subiectes ar not
 to live on earth without persecution and sorow, and when he
 comes again, he will receive them with him into his Fathers
 mansiones, and their sorow shalbe turned into joy, that shal never
 be taken from them. After Cerinthus we read next of Papias, of
 whom Euseb. lib. cit. c. 39, writes thus; He reportes strange para-
 bles of our Saviour, mixed with fabulous doctrine, wher he
 dreameth, that the kingdome of Christ shall corporally here on
 earth last the space of 1000 yeeres after the resurrection of the
 dead: which errour (as I suppose) grew heerof, in that he received
 not rightly the true and mystical meaning of the Apostles, nether
 deeply weyed the thinges delivered of them by familiar exem-
 ples: for he wes a man of smal judgement, as by his bookes plainly
 appeares: yet heerby he gave unto diuerse Ecclesiastical persones
 occasion of errour, who respected his antiquitie, namely unto

Irenæus and others, if ther be any found lyk minded. Then lib. 7, c. 22 and 23, he writes of Nepos, Coracion and others in Egypt infected with this errour about the yeer 250: whom Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria did convince in a synode by Demonstrations and doctrine of the holy Scripture, and did reclame them from their errour. Thus he speakes ever of these opinionones as of erroures contrarie unto the holy Scriptures. After Lactantius (who lived about the yeer 320) this errour wes universally abhorred, so that Hierome on Esa. l. 18, & Augustin ad Quod vult. haref. 8, write of it as a damned errour, & we read of few or none in this opinion till in this last age it comes apace with the Anabaptistes and some English Novatoures: few write aganst it, because the argumentes ar so sillie and ridiculous, that everie understanding persone reading them, findes not only the weaknesse of the groundes, but even out of them doe gather pregnant argumentes in the contrarie. Albeit these Authores doe aggrie in the time and place of this imagined Monarchie, yet they write one aganst another in many circumstances therof, as is marked heerafter. They speak not now of feastes and sacrifices, as Cerinthus did but if they will maintaine this opinion, I see not how they can eject them, seing the Prophetes speak als expressely of them, as of Christs kingdome, Jer. 33. 17, *Thus sayth the Lord, David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel, nether shall the priestes the Levites want a man before mee to offer burnt-offerings, and to kindle meat-offrings, and to doe sacrifice continually.* See v. 21. 22. Zech. 14. 16. 21. But that these and such other textes should be exponed spiritually, it is plaine by Mal. 1. 11: wher incense and offerings ar not restrained unto the Iewes at Ierusalem, but made commune unto the gentiles everie where: and more plainly in the New Testament. If the Millenaries will expone with us these textes of spiritual sacrifices, they can not shew any probable reasoun, why the prophecies concerning Christs kingdome should not lykwise be exponed spiritually. And Hierome in Esa. 65, lib. 18 sayth, If we grant these wordes to be exponed carnally, let them hear the lyk promises made unto Sodome as unto Ierusalem Ezek. 16. 53. *When I shall bring again their captivity, the captivity of Sodome and her daughters, and the captivity of*

Samaria

Samaria and her daughters, then shall I bring again the captivitie of thy captives in the midst of them — : when thy sister Sodom and her daughters shall returne — then thou and thy daughters shall returne. Wherfor (sayth Ierome) these houses [mentioned Esa. 65. 21] must be understood vertues, or the diverse mansiones beside the Father—and of such houses our Saviour speakes Mat. 7. 24, *I will liken him to a wise man, who buildes his house on a rocke.* And the Apostle sayth 2 Cor. 5. 1, *we have a building of God, an house not made with handes, eternal in the heavens.* Because we can not conceive of heaven in such maner as it is, it pleaseth God to insinuate it into our affectiones by similitudes of thinges pleasant unto us, and to teach us faith by sensible thinges: and therfor we should not rest on these borrowed wordes, but know that the thing described goes beyond the earthly similitude. I knowe, some Millenaries will take it hardly, that they are called the off-spring of Cerinthus, seeing they differ from him in sundrie particulars; and some say, It's no mater, who hes sayd it before, whither Cerinthus or Swenkfeld, if it be true. I answer, Scarcely any heretike did ever renew an old heresie in all the particulars; and neverthelesse it is truely called the same heresie: and we call them so, no more than they be such: And when any opinion hes no other father nor abetoures, but heretikes, it is odious. By this historical narration, Beloved in the Lord, you may see that this doctrine is no new light reveled in this last age (as yow have heard some teach) but an old Jewish fancie and Cerinthian fable: old erroures are lyke old whoores, that is, the more to be abhorred. What I have done here, is for your good, for *x* you have heard this error preached in stead of the doctrine of Christ (albeit it was first broached by the enemies of Christ) by some of the Authoures of the Apologeticall narration for Independencie, who had in their congregation not only Millenaries, but grosse Anabaptistes: and so their practise manifestly declares what they write obscurely in that Narration pag. 12, saying, *Wee took measure of no mans holynesse by his opinion, whither adverse unto us, &c. Towit, whatsoever Noveller is welcome unto them. Their Dinah is libertie of-cōscience: their grand amunition is anarchie or no-discipline; and they call it a bondage to be tied in the faith.* 2. the book of

M. Maron

M. Maton called *Israels redemption*, hes been oft put into your
handes, and upon several occasions of my declaring the trueth
in this point, you have been intreated to put that book into my
hand: wherfor you had need of an antidote. Peruse this plaine
refutation of it: wherby (I hope) you shall see, that the reward of
your serving Christ is not meat that perishes, but everlasting lyf,
which the Sone of man shall give unto you, Joh. 6. 27, and
that the kingdome of God comes not with observation [or
wordly respect and attendance] but behold ! the kingdome of
God is within you, Luk. 17. 20; and as the wicked can not have
hope of long immunitie from just punishment of their bodies
and soules in hell, so our deliverance from the bondage of cor-
ruption, into the glorious libertie of the children of God, shall
not be long delayed. Walk you therfor in holynesse with sincer-
itie and cheerfulness, as it becomes the heires of so great
salvation, and give all diligence to make your calling and elec-
tion sure: for so an entrance shalbe ministred unto you aboun-
dantly, not into an earthly Monarchie, but the everlasting king-
dome of our Lord and Saviour **IESUS CHRIST.**

Auguste 1. 1644.



THE



THE PROMISES
OF
CHRISTS KINGDOME
cleared.

That Christ is already come as a Prophet — is the faith of the Christians, and the infidelitie of the Jewes: but that he shall come as a King to reigne on earth, and restore again the Monarchie of Israel, is the faith of the Jewes, and infidelitie of Christians. *Ans. 1.* What newe spirit is this? whether be such persones Jewes or Christians? they oppose themselves unto all Jewes and Christians. *2.* Whither doe they understand the differences twixt Jewes and Christians? It was never yet heard, that the Jewes doe believe, that Christ Iesus shall come as a King: they sayd, away with him; wee will not have him to reigne over us. They say, that the Messias shall come, but they speak not of his coming twyce or thrice: look all the Jewish Rabbies, and ask them who ar alive: they will say, but once: This conceit of Christs coming to reigne on earth, is neither Christian nor Jewish, seing Christians believe not such a coming, nor doe the Jewes believe in Christ: and therfor it is abhorred of all Christians and Jewes; so far ar they both from embracing it. *Pag. 2.* and yet (with submission to impartial judgements be it spoken) I find not more voices for the one than for the other. *Ans.* Who ar these impartial

A

partial judgements? on the one side ar Christians, and on the other ar Iewes: it may be, that he submittes unto Turkes: bot the Turkes believe, that Christ is come, and will not say, that he will come again. These impartial judgements then must be heathen-
 es. 2. If the Millenaries find not more voices for the one than for the other, it is no meruell: any who hes the jaundies findes everie thing yellow, and who have an ague findes everie meat and drink bitter; not that everie thing is such, bot their senses ar distempered: another who hath not distempered senses findes in the same things a diversitie of colour and relish. 2. Why dout they here, whither ther be moe voices for the one than for the other, seing afterwards it is sayd pag. 50, as all the Prophetes speak of no thing more so they have nothing (which can be applied to our Saviours second coming as a comforttable effect so generally foreshewne) bot this. Any who is not distempered in brains may see the ground of this monarchie verie unsure, to wit, a meer quere: the disciples asked him, Lord will thou at this time restore the kingdome of Israel? a querie nether affirmeth nor denieth: and nevertheles how great a kingdome is built on it! If they can find a surer ground, why will they not chose it for their text? better they have not, and therfor they must be doing with this, *Pag. ead. The subject comprehendes in it two assertions 1. that the kingdome of the Iewes shalbe restored again unto them. 2. That our Saviour at his coming shall restore it.* Ans. The querie comprehendes neither of the two, because (as I said) it affirmes nothing. And the asked mater comprehendes them not; not the first, because it is of the kingdome of Israel, and not of the Jewes: and as all ar not Israelites, who ar of Israel Rom. 4. 6. so neither ar they all Israelites or the children of God who ar of Israel according to the flesh, bot the children of the promise ar counted for the seed: therfor the kingdome of Israel mentioned there may be another than the kingdome of the Jewes. Nethor is the other assertion comprehended in the question, because it askes not of his second or third coming, bot of nou: Will thou nou restore the kingdome. *Pag. 3 So evidently doe these wordes expresse an earthly kingdome (I mean a kingdome only to be held on earth).*

earth) that no expositor which I have met wit doth denie it: And therfor seing they could not, bot embrace the sense, mee thinks, they should not so rashly have rejected the consequence. Ans, Mee thinks, you speake nonsense. Many expostoures expone these wordes otherwise: seek and you shall find. 2 Why may we not think, that the Apostles meant as Simeon did Luk. 2. 30. 3 1. 32. or as the repenting thief did Luk. 23. 42. or as Christ did v. 43. certainly these did not mean of an earthly monarchie: nether is there any word in this text shewing that they meand otherwise. 3, Albeit no expositor wold denie, that the Apostles did understand an earthly kingdome, yet it followes not, They thought so, therfor it shalbe so, No more than it followes, The Apostles did not (for a time) believe the calling of the gentiles *Act. 11. 3.* therfor the gentiles ar not called. Bot the consequence hes reasones, sayth he, wherof the first two ar to pical and by way of probabilitye *pag. 5.* When the authour sayth, The reasones ar probable, and I may say, childish: will any Christian change his faith for them? certane faith should have sure groundes, lest the wind of tentation blowe it away: and therfor I micht leave these probabilities as not worthie of reading or answer: nevertheles consider them. *Pag. 3* First because the authoures of this demand wer not babes either in yeers or understanding, bot the Apostles themselves: men who had followed our Saviour --- men to whom he had shewed himself after his passion --- and speaking to them of the thinges pertaining unto the kingdom of God. And yet that these men should now at their last conference with him be mistaken in a mater of such importance -- is (as I believe, and as I think, you will all say) a thing altogether unlykly. Ans. 1. It is unlykly they could be mistaken, and therfor it is lykly, that they understood of the true kingdom of Israel, as Christ did. 2 And nevertheles seing after that last conference they wer mistaken in a mater of great evidence so many tymes foretold, as the calling of the gentiles; it is not unlykly that before Christs ascension they micht been misscaried with that opinion of the Iewish monarchie, which was not a new opinion invented nor vented by the Apostles. *Pag. ead.* A second reason which makes mee distaste the censure here

cast on our Apostles, is because our Saviours answer is alleged as a sufficient ground for it, whereas it will appear even to a weak judgement, by that his answer the Apostles opinion is as much established, as their curiositie is reprehended &c. Ans. This cause is a mistaking, as if the question wer granted: for albeit they did mean so, yet Christs wordes have nothing of that point, but only taxeth the disciples of their curiositie: and therfor the partaphrase following in this reason is vain. *Pag. 4.* Another reason which makes for our Apostles is th: answer our Saviour gave to the sones of Zebedee, when they besought him, that they might sit one on his right-hand, and the other on his left in his kingdome, or as Mark paraphraseth it, in his glorie, Tee know not what ye ask, sayes he: this reproof, you will grant, goes nearer to the quick, than that before used to the Apostles; and yet if yee mark what followes, you shall find that the mater of th: petition is allowed of, and only the motives thereof condemned --- and therfor seing this is all, that these two wer rebooked for, by such a sharp reply, how can we mistrust, that more than this should be included in a wilder answer? Ans. These two spak of Christs kingdom in his glorie: and therfor we may justly think, that they meened of his greatest glorie or of his kingdom in heaven; and not of an earthly kingdome, & if Christ in his answer had spoken of an earthly kingdome, how wes it not in his power to choise his princes in that kingdome? and seing they wer only taxed for their ambition & unadvisednesse concerning the glorious kingdome of Christ, and the Apostles wer taxed for their curiositie concerning the particulare time of that kingdome, how shall we mistrust that they understood any other kingdome. *Pag. 5* That which seemes to me clearly to quitte our Apostles from error, though not from oblivion: from error (I say) in the subject, though not in the circumstance; in the thing demanded, though not in the season of its performance, is, because I find my text to be a lesson read to them by our Saviour before his passion. For speaking of the destruction of the Jewes, they shall fall (sayd he) by the edge of the sword --- *Luk. 21. 24. and v. 28.* having before shewne what signes should immediately foregoe his appearing, he left them this cordial, When these thinges beginne to come to passe, then look up and lift

life up your heades for your redemption drawes nigh. Behold here, the casting away of Gods people for a time, which we see at this day verified, and their receiving again for ever, which shall at last certainly come to passe, as plainly foretold, the redemption (I say) not only of their soules,--but consequently of their bodies too, from their general captivitie to the repossessing of their countrie by a miraculous deliverance: for if no more should be meant by the word Redemption, but the meer conversion of the Jewes in these places wher now they live, it can not be conceived why this action should be accompanied with such wonderfull tokens and perplexitie of all nationes, as is here mentioned &c. Ans. Who being right in his witt will learne of that one word Redemption, that the Jewes shall have an earthly kingdome over all nationes? Our Saviour is not speaking there of an earthly kingdome, nor of the Jewes conversion, but as he speakes and expones himself v. 31. knowe yee that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand and this is a mater of greater encouragement than any earthly kingdome can be unto spiritually mynded persones: and therfor when they wrestle against the understanding of the Jewes conversion in these wordes, they feight against their own fantasies. Now if they can not find clearer textes in the New Te. for this earthly monarchie, everie understanding Christian will reject the misapplying of the prophetes, seing everie ground of faith is reveled more clearly in the New T. than in the old. Nevertheless let us hear the particulare proofes, *Pag. 6 The first is Mic. 5. 13. What I pray, is meant hereby smiting the Iudge of Israel, but the crucifying of Christ? --- and what by untill the time that she that travelleth hath brought forth, but the whol time of the surrogated gentiles vocation? And on the margine he sayth for proof; To this interpretation of the prophecie (smiting so well with our Saviours sufferings) the verie next verse, which shewes the place wher Christ the ruler of Israel should be borne, doeth to my thinking directly lead us.* Ans. To the thinking of any judicious reader the wordes of the same verse may lead us unto another interpretation: for he is speaking there not of the doinges of the Jewes, but of their enemies, whom he calleth daughter of troupes and he shewes what these enemies shall doe; they shall gather themselves in troupes

and lay siege against us (sayth the prophet) that is, the Iewes, and they shall smite the Iudge of Israel upon the cheek: which is a proverbial phrase, as ps. 3. 8, and signifieth to intreate shamefully. Now seeing the prophet speakes thereof the enemies laying siege against the Iewes, and smiting their Iudge, these wordes can not be understood of the smiting of Christ, albeit it be true, that the Iewes did smite him: in the second v. he comfortes the Iewes against the fear of that calamitie, with a promise of a more powerfull Ruler. Then by her that travelleth v. 3. the same prophet gives us to understand another thing, than the calling of the gentiles; c. 4. 10, Be in paine, and labour to bring furth O doughter of Sion lyk a woman in travell. And who may not think that the same prophet repeting the same wordes in the same prophesie understandeth the same persones? that is, the Iewes and not the gentiles, unles we understand the doughter of Sion spiritually. And therfor this exposition not aggriving with the text, all that followes upon it hes no ground in this text. 3 it is sayd v. 3 Then the remnant of his brethren shall returne unto the children of Israel: here the children of Israel ar distinguished from his brethren, and the brethren ar sayd to returne: which is a plain interpretation, that the prophet there speakes not of the Iewish monarchie, but that the gentiles shall adjoyne themselves unto the Church of God, as they be called the brethren of Christ Heb. 2. 11. 12. Pag. 7. And this the next vers: does confirme, which telleth us that at the tyme of this returne, he (that is, the Iudge of Israel before spoken of) shall stand and feed or rule in the strength of the Lord his God, and they that is, the Iewes shall abide: for now (that is, at this coming of our Saviour) he shalbee (not as when he took our nature upon him, of no forme nor comelinesse, a man despised and rejected of men --- but he shalbe) great unto the endes of the earth, that is, over all the world &c. Ans. 1. he is the ruler of Israel, mentioned v. 3. and not the Iudge mentioned. v. 1. 2. They, ar not the Iewes, but rather the brethren of whose returne he spake in the wordes immediatly preceding. 3. Now signifyeth not the tyme of Christs second coming, but the time of the abiding or of the Christianses constant persevering in the faith: and in this sence is our Saviour great

great over all the world, seeing all the gentiles prayse him, and all people doe laude him, as it is written Rom. 15. 10. 11: bot at his second coming men shall not built a throne to him, bot he shall judge the quick and the dead. 2 Tim. 4. 1.

Pag. ead. Another prophetic much lyk unto this Amos. 9. 8. 9. 10. 11. Now although this prophetic took effect on the rentribes at their transportation --; yet who is able to maintaine, that it was fulfilled on the other two (for not the house of Ioseph, nor the house of Iudah only, bot the house of Iacob wholly, is here spoken of: and why els is the tabernacle of David afterwards exprest, as a prime agent in the restauration, if it wer not before included as a succeeding patient in the dispersion of Israel?) who then (I say) is able to maintaine, that this prophetic was fulfilled on Iudah and Benjamin, untill their overthrow by the Romane emperor Vespasian, ever since which time they also remain forsaken, scattered and dispersed captives? yea who dares affirme it, when God besayd, that at their returne from this universal captivitie, he will so plant them in their land, that they shall no more be pulled out of it, which yet should not be true if it had been spoken of any deliverance before our Saviours coming to suffer, Ans. It is alik ground for such a kingdome: 1 how can it be denied, that the house of Iudah was destroyed, when their kinges and people wer caried out of their land? 2 how can the tabernacle of David be called a prime agent in the restauration? it is sayd, I will raise up the tabernacle of David; and not, The tabernacle of David shall raise up: it is a patient, and not an agent; and none denyeth that it is included in the dispersion of Israel: and therfor that part of the prophetic was, fulfilled even before the overthrow by the Romane Emperoure, and so before that overthrowe was it restored againe, and afterwards also wer they scattered. Bot that promise of restauration is not of the house of Iudah, bot of the people of Israel v. 14: and who these be, we have a sufficient interpreter Act. 15. 16. when the Apostle James expones these wordes of the enlarging Christs kingdome by the calling of the gentiles, which was begun at that tyme by the preaching of the Apostle: And Ro. Stephanus in his notes on this text of Amos sayth, Almost all the Hebrewes doe consent that this is meant

meant of the tyme of Messias, and especially of the calling of the gentiles : and by bodilie houses and benefites the prophet understands spirituall: and these who are begotten unto this lively hope are kepted most safely through faith unto salvation, 1 Pet. 1. 5: so that the gates of hell shall not prevail against them Mat. 16. 18. Whereas it is asked, Who dares affirme it? Zacharias hes not spared to affirme it Luk. 1. 68, saying, Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hes visited and redeemed his people, and hes raised up an horne of salvation in the house of David his servant as he spak by the mouth of his holy prophetes &c. Dare any Millenarie contradict this testimonie? And here for understanding this and such other prophecies I adde these undouted rules 1 The land of Canaan was a type of the kingdom of Christ: and so was Ierusalem and Sion: and because these were types of this kingdome, so glorious things were spoken of them Ps. 46. 4. 5, and 48. 1. 2, and 87. 1. 2. 3. 5: Which textes are more faithfully understood of Christs kingdome than of this earthly Ierusalem and Sion: yea verie hardly can they be understood of them. 2 As the priestes were types of Christ in respect of his, priestly office, so were the kinges of his kingly: and therefore as the kinges were anointed, so Christ is called David, Eze. 34. 23. (which is expounded Ioh. 10. 11.) and was typified by Solomon Ps. 45. And he is sayd to sit on the throne of David, and not of Nebuchadnezar or of any other, because their kingdomes were cursed kingdomes, and were not established on righteousnesse and knowledge of the true God, as Davids throne was: and for this cause when he is sayd to sit on the throne of David, it is not to be understood that he had or shall have the same earthly throne of David, but that which was typified: so Mat. 2. he is called a Nazarite, not that he did use their rites and customes (for he drank wine, and they did not) but because he was typified by the Nazarite Samson: for he slewe more by his death than by his lyf, and was severed from all sin and pollution. 3 It is usual in the Scriptures to name the type, and understand the thing signified by the type. And therefore as it is sayd Heb. 8. 2, Christ is a Minister of the sanctuary and of the true Tabernacle,

that

that is , of that which truly was signified by the Tabernacle : so he may be sayd the true David, and his throne the true throne of David, and his kingdom the true Jerusalem and the true Sion.

4 As Christ is sayd to be the lambe of God slaine from the beginning of the world Revel. 13. 8, not only in the decree of God, but by vertue and efficacie, seing by vertue of his blood (at that tyme to be shed) wer Adam and Abel reconciled unto God, and delivered from the power of Satan; So Christs kingdome began then : for in Christ Adam , Abel and we ar one bodie and members of the same kingdome , howbeit in extent and largenesse it did most flourish and appear since the incarnation , in which respect it is sayd to begin at or after his incarnation.

5 The promise made to Abraham Gen. 13. 16 , I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth: and c. 15. 5, look towards heaven, and tell the starres if thou be able to number them , and so shall thy seed be, These promises (I say) ar not to be understood of the children of Abraham, according to the flesh, but as they ar expounded Rom. 4. 15 , not of that only which is of the lawe, but of them who ar of the faith of Abraham , which is the father of us all, as it is written, I have made thee a father of many nationes; and Gal. 3. 28, ther is nether Iewe nor Griek , nether bonde nor free , nether male nor female, for yee ar all one in Christ Iesus : and if ye be Christs, then ar yee Abraham's seed, and heires according to the promise. And therfor the promises made unto the children of Abraham, Isaak and Iacob ar not to be restricted unto the Iewes according to the flesh, (as the Iewes and Millenaries expone all these promises) but of the faithfull. And hither belongeth that distinction of the Iewes Rom. 2. 28 , he is not a Iewe, who is one outwardly , neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh , but he is a Iewe , who is one inwardly, and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit. And of such inwardly Iews must the promises be understood (at least, in part) that mak mention of Iudah. And therfor it is a great mistaking of the prophecies , if we shall still make an opposition twixt Iewes and gentiles : believing gentiles ar true Iewes (as we see, they ar called in the New Testament) and unbelieving

B

Jewes

Jewes and gentiles, and so are called Isa. x. 4. and elsewhere. All the prophecies cannot be understood of the church on earth only; but of both together, or partly of the one, and partly of the other, and partly of both: and so prudence must be had in the application of the promises. Yea and there is a gradual performance of them, and the accomplishment of them is in several pointes of time, so much as shall give content to Gods children, yet always leading to a further and further performance. As for example, God shewed mercie to these Israelites when they were in captivity: he brought them home again: they were a poor and afflicted people, and were much bettered by their bondage: there was a degree of performance. There was another degree in Christs tyme, when he joynd the gentiles to them, and both made one church. But when it is layd, The remnant shall doe none iniquitie, and a deceitfull tongue shall not be found in their mouth; Zeph. 3. 13: These promises shall have their tyme, when the people shall be more thorowly purged: and certainly the full accomplishment shall be at the day of judgement, and so long as we are in this lyf, we are under an imperfecte and unperformed estate. 7 Here that general rule is also to be remembered, When the wordes of Scripture being properly taken, teach any thing contrarie to the analogie of faith or honestie of maners, or any thing frivolous that belongeth nothing to godlynesse, or dissonant from the scope of the text, or contrarie unto other cleare textes of the same purpose: these wordes must be expounded figuratively; and a figurative sense is the literal or primarily intended sense of these wordes. And contrarily unto this rule the Jewes and others expound the descriptiones & prophecies of the glorie and power of Christ and his church after an earthly maner, and so straying from the true meaning, they transforme his spiritual kingdome into an earthly and temporarie: which as it is ungodly, so it is repugnant unto Scripture testifying plainly, that his church is all glorious within and not of this world: and therefore these comparisones that are taken from earthly kingdomes, must be understood figuratively and in a spiritual sense, at least it must be diligently observed what portion of everie passage is to be under-

understood properly, and what figuratively, seing many tymes that which is spoken figuratively, is exponed by the wordes preceding or following, and all figurative speeches have some tokens of the use, unto which they are directed, or another text may be found wher the same mater is more clearly handled.

These general rules being premitted, it shalbe the easier to expone all the promises of Christs kingdome: and especially that text Amo. 9. 15. They shall no more be pulled out of their land, which I have given them, sayth the Lord thy God. For these wordes may be cleared, by the wordes of Iere. 4. 1. If thou wilt put away thy abominations out of my sight, then thou shalt not remove. Wher we have the same promise, but expressed with a condition: and it is usual in the Scriptures that earthly promises are expressed somtyme with a condition, and somtymes without it, but alwayes are understood conditionally. 2 by the acceptiōnes of the word *land*: which as it is not alwayes exponed of the earth, so somtymes it is put for the grave, as Iob 10. 21, the land of darknesse and shadow of death, and for the heaven: Ps. 27. 13. I had fainted, unless I had believed to see the Lord in the land of the living. And especially that land was a type of the kingdome of Christ (as is sayd in the first rule) and of the true inheritance of the saintes, and true gift of God Deut. 4. 1. 38. And so whither the word *land* be taken properly or typically, the promise is manifestly true both before and after the coming of Christ to suffer, for they wer brought againe into their land, and they who wer brought wer not pulled out of their land, and they are planted in their true land, whence they shall no more be pulled out: and heerby the large note on the margine of page 9. is frustrated.

Page 9. The next prophesie shalbe that of Ios. 2. 28. 31. and 2. 14. 15. Ans. The Apostle Peter not only makes use of these wordes, but expones them, and shewes the accomplishment of them in some degre (as it is sayd in the sixte rule before) for Act. 2. 16. he sayth, This is that which wes spoken by the prophet Ios. And it shall come to passe in the last dayes &c. And v. 32. Yee men of Israel hear these wordes, Iesus of Nazareth a man

approved of God among you by miracles, wonders and signes, which God did by him in the midst of you, as yee yourselves knowe. *Inst. 1. I am not ignorant, that the darkning of the Sun and Moone is somtimes taken allegoricallie, and by way of allusion: but that therfor it should be so understood heer, it does not follow: for wher it is figuratively applied, it signifieth the judgement it self--: but wher it is literally used, it is put only for a signe of an eminent destruction, which shall suddenly follow it, as the great and terrible day of the Lord shall doe at the accomplishment of this prophecie.* *Ans.* Wher the darknesse of the Sun (and so it may be understood of the Moone) is used properly, it is not put only for a signe of an eminent and imminent destruction, as it is manifest Luk. 23. 45. which was a testimonie from heaven of Christs innocencie for conviction of the murderers: and c. 21. 25. the signes in the Sun and Moone and in the Starres, and the distresse of nationes upon the earth with perplexitie, and the roaring of the Sea and waves at all to be understood properly as signes before the great and terrible day of the Lord. So what is promised in the 28 and 29 verses of the second ch. of Ioel, was truely (albeit not altogether) fulfilled in the dayes of Peter (even howbeit the wordes of the 30 and 31 verses be properly understood) and not wholly fulfilled till the time immediatly preceding the last coming of Christ *Inst. 2 The chief and most remarkable effect of the Spirit in the Apostles at this tyme was the gift of tounges, of which the prophet makes no mention.* *Ans.* 1 If this exception wer true, it wold prove, that the Apostle citeth the wordes inpertinently, and the Iewes might have challenged him of babling: and so these authoures fight against the Apostle and the Spirit of God, who hes registered this argumentation of the Apostle, as good and valide. 2 the chieff and most remarkable work of the Spirit at that tyme was a sound from heaven as of a mighty rushing wind, which filled all the house, and there appeared unto them cloven tounges lyk as of fire, and it sate upon each of them, and they wer all filled with the holy Ghost: and this was noised abroad. Wherby it is evident that the Apostle speakes especially not only of the effect (which is their speaking in strange languages) but of the

the cause, the powring down of the Spirit, of which Ioel speakes expressly : and therfor Peter citeth the wordes pertinently. *Inst. 3* as the prophet reveled, so (Peter) repeates this powring out of the Spirit as a contemporarie event with the wonders, which shalbe shewne in the heavens and in the earth before the great and terrible day of the Lord come: which day can no way be referred to the first coming of Christ, when he came to save sinners and not to destroy them --- for then it must been an antecedent of his birth -- and not a subsequent of his death. *Ans.* 1 Ioel sayth not, that the powring of the Spirit shall not be till the great and terrible day of the Lord come, but he shewes so many things preceding the coming of our Saviour: nether may we think that all these things shalbe fulfilled in the same juncture of tyme: if all be accomplished, even in severall tymes: the prophecie abides true. 2 That day or tyme wes terrible: for it is written Act. 2. 6, the multitude came together and wer confounded or troubled in mynd, because that everie man heard them in his own language, and they wer all amazed and mervelled, and 7. 32 a man approved among yow by miracles, wonders and signes. Wherby it is manifest that even to the sight of these Iewes that tyme of Christs coming wes terrible, albeit his second coming shalbe more terrible in regard of the general destruction, which shalbe on all nationes, not for opposing themselves against the Jewes (as they imagine) but for their not acknowledging God and not obeying the Gospell of our Lord Iesus, 2 Thess. 1. 8. *Inst. 4* And to put it out of doubt, that Gods bringing down the heaiven into the valley of Iehosaphat, is meant only of this gathering them together to a battle, and consequently of a judgement on the living and not on the dead; to put this out of doubt (I say) the prophet makes it to be a concomitant of the Iewes returne from their captivity. *Ans.* That these wordes ar not meant of the temporall Monarchie after Christs coming, it may be learned by the parallel text in that same page, wher it is sayd, And for my own part I am persuaded, that this great armie here spoken of, is the verie same that shalbe gathered together to the battle of the great day of God Almighty, by the thrie uncleane spiritues lyk frogges, which St Iohn sawe come out of the

mouth of the Dragon and out of the mouth of the false prophet Rev. 16. 13. If he be persuaded, that this is the same battle, he might likewise be persuaded, that the text of Joel 3. is not after the coming of Christ; nor immediately at his coming: for that battle is in the tyme of the sixth vial, after which followes another vial and tyme of trouble mentioned in the rest of that ch. of the Revel. And here by the way we observe that the renowned Author of Clavis Apocaliptica is mistaken in his seventh Synchronisme, wherein he sayth, that the powring furth of the seven vials is contemporarie with the end of the Beast and Babylon: for albeit it be sayd c. 15. 2, that they who had gotten the victorie over the Beast sang the song of Moses, it followes not, that the Beast was then destroyed; nether albeit the first and fift and last vials be powred on the Beast, followeth it, that they were not powred till the last tyme of the destruction of the Beast; Seing the Saintes in heaven (and on earth too) may rejoyce for their particulare victorie over the Beast as yet reigning, and the vials may be powred on the Beast at several times, even some of them on the Beast in the hight of her pride, to the end, that men may have warninges of the judgements of God on the Beast in her greatest pompe. And the rather may we judge so, that we find such aggriment in the principal termes of the seven Trumpets and seven vials; the second Trumpet with the second vial, the third Trumpet with the third vial: the fourth Trumpet with the fourth vial: the sixth Trumpet with the sixth vial, and the seventh Trumpet with the seventh vial. Now seing the first Trumpet is of the same tyme with the beginning of the Beast (as he sayth Synchron. 1 par. 2.) the first vial must be of that same tyme also; and all the other Synchronismes and expositiones of textes that are grounded on that seventh Synchronisme of the first part are wrong. Which I mark, because these late Millenaries have been moved by the appearance of these Synchronismes, to embrace this opinion. 2 We may be persuaded, that the gathering of the nationes Joel 3. 2. is not to be understood of a battle after the coming or at the coming of Christ, if we consider the wordes of the first verse, For behold
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in these dayes, and in that tyme &c. He kniteth this ch. with the preceding, and shewes the contentes of both to be at the same time : which is not any particulare yeer or age, but comprehendes the whole deliverance of Israel or people of God, which wes begun, when the captive Jewes wer brought from Babylon, and continowes till Christs second coming, as if the prophet had sayd, When the Lord shall deliver his people, it shall not be a short and momentanie deliverance, but his protection shall continow till he have avenged him of all the enemies of his Church. As for the name of the valley of Iehosaphat, ther is no necessitie to understand therby the valey of blessing 2. Chro. 20. 26, seing that valley never hes this name in the Scriptures: nether is it possible, that all the nationes of the world can convene in that place: but the name may rather be taken appellatively for the valey of Gods judgement, as the Hebrew word importes and the wordes following allude therunto; wherby the prophet teaches us to consider the etymologie of the name: and nevertheles he wold lykwise have us to consider the gracious deliverance of Jehoshaphat, that he will als certainly deliver his people in all ages, as he did Iehoshaphat. And this is a more glorious trophée, than if any one nation wer kepted a 1000 yeers in wordly prosperitie. After the adding of moe such prophecies, it is sayd, pag. 14 *How can we forsake the literal interpretation of these prophecies, if we doe but consider, that the Jewes are here distinguished from all other nationes, of which we gentiles who are now converted, wer then apart: and are by this name in the writings of the Euangelistes and Apostles still distinguished from them, if we consider what grosse absurdities wold followe from the tropicall construction of these or the lyk prophetical revelations, wherein the event of things is so plainly and distinctly attributed unto the Jewes.* Ans. Wee forsake not the literal interpretation of these prophecies: for that is the literal interpretation, which is principally intended, whither it be proper or figurative: but we forsake that restricted interpretation, as only be longing to a temporal monarchie of the Jewes. 2 The Jewes are not to be understood (in these promises) in way of opposition unto all nationes: for then all other men without

without exception I shalbe consumed in the valley of Iehoshaphat : bot the Iewes and Israel ar to be exponed of the elect people of God , according to the fift rule mentioned before ; and the gentiles ar all the enemies of the Church. And the faithfull ar called Iewes, not only typically , bot lykwyse for the speciall confort of the Iewes, because they wer hated of all nations everie wher : which might have been unto them occasion of despaire : and therfor the Lord sayth unto them to this purpose, How many or great so ever your enemies I shalbe , I will judge them. And for the same ar the Iewes oft named in the promises of the new Testament to shew their particulare interesse in the Kirk of Christ, notwithstanding their unworthinesse and contempt of the Gospell at the first preaching therof. Now if the prophecies be exponed this way (as they must be) of believers whither Iewes or gentiles : and their enemies whatsoever, the enemies of the faith in any age, none of these absurdities shall follow , which ar rehearsed here as in a catalogue : to wit : 1. The Iewes did never since the Apostles dayes returne from any captivitie with such an high hand and such a wonderful victorie over their enemies , as is here prophesied. Ans. Nether ever shall they returne in such a maner , if yee understand a worldly and civil pompe : for these promises can not be understood (as I have sayd) of any one exploite nor of any age. The promises of God ar more glorious and more large. 2 As for the Church that now is, let the lamentable experience of all ages witnesse, whither she hes not been more often crowned with martyredome than victorie. Ans. This is als bad an opposition as the former : for Christ in suffering did triumph over his enemies Col. 2. 15, and martyredome is victorie, Rom. 8. 37 in all these things we ar more than conquerours. Spiritual victorie consistes with bodily suffering; mixt albeit the Church wer oftner crowned with martyredome than victorie, yet in several ages she lies been crowned with glorious victorie, and her full glorification is a coming, and her enemies have been and shalbe smiten and brought into subjection , and the house of David is exalted in the person of Christ and his members , and all the
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wealth of the nationes hes been employed or shalbe employed for the use of the faithfull (albeit not in any particular year or age) and the Lord shall descend and all the 'saintes' with him. 3 *If this be not to crie peace, peace, when ther is no peace, if this be not to call evill good, and good evill --- I know not what is.* Ans. This is a pitiefull exclamation, If it wer true, bot exclamations ar not alwayes victorious. When we teach, It shalbe weel unto the children of God, and ther is no peace unto the wicked, and fet your heartes on things above, and not on things on earth; Is this to trie peace, when ther is no peace, or to call good evill? Or is it not rather to put darknesse for licht, when spirituall promises ar restrained to a temporall prosperitie of a carnal people? and when God teaches faith by sense, that because we can not understand heavenly things till he insinuate them into our affections by pleasur and knowen things, should we think that God hes no higher sense in these promises? All the earth belongeth unto Christ, and in the midst of Scythia some have lived happily, even more happily than many have done in Iudæa. The promises then ar not tied to Iudæa, bot belong unto all them who ar mentioned Ioh. 11. 51, he prophecied, that Iesus should die for that nation, and not for that nation only, bot that also he should gather together in one the children of God that wer scattered abroad, that is, throgh the world, as the same Apostle expones himself, 1 Ioh. 2. 2. Bot it may be, that this exclamation wes made against the coniecture of Cornelius a lapide; then he should distinguish the persones.

Pag. 15 Against of the Iewes returne & of their prosperitie which then shal happen, he addes moe passages, as Esa. 11. 11 till 16 Yowsee (sayth he) that the Prophet here speakes of a miraculous recoverie of Gods people; of the recoverie of Iudah not from Babylon, bot from the four corners of the earth, and that together with Ephraim, with the ten tribes from Assyria, which as yet never came back, and therfor this is not yet fulfilled. Ans. 1. Ther is no mention of returning here, bot of recovering the remnant of his people. 2. Who be these his people? Look the tenth verse, In that day there shalbe a roote of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensigne of the people: to it shall
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the gentiles seek, and his rest shalbe glorious : And behold how the Apostle expones these wordes Rom. 15. 12, Esaias sayth, Ther shalbe a roote of Iesse, and he that shall rise to reigne over the gentiles, in him shall the gentiles trust. Now wheras the Apostle expones his people to be the gentiles, may they not be ashamed, who will understand only the Iewes ? So that there is meant the recoverie of Gods people or the gentiles from Assyria, Egypt or whersoever they be. *Obi. It is sayd, he shall assemble the outcastes of Israel, and the dispersed of Iudah.* Ans. The Gospell (which is Christs standerd) hes been preached unto them Iam. 1. 1, and so their assembling is into the bosome of the Church. *Obi. 2. It is sayd, The envy of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Iudah shalbe cutt off, &c.* Ans. The meaning is, Wheras ther had been contentiones twixt the tribes one against another, and both against the gentiles, and gentiles against them both : under Christ shalbe an end of that malice : 2 In the citation of this prophecie, the fourteenth verse is omitted, because they can not see, how it can be verified of the peaceable kingdome, which they imagine: bot seing the wordes preceding and the wordes following conteene one and the same prophecie, and these wordes in the midle part can not be exponed of that monarchie, it is evident that no part of this prophecie can be understood of that monarchie : bot the meaning is plaine, if they be exponed of the Christian Church, thus, The Apostles did flee, that is, quickly preach unto other nationes, and brought them in a short space unto the obedience of Christ : not going in troopes from Province to Province, bot at the same tyme they went one by one into severall nationes. 3. This verse being omitted, the fifteenth verse is quoted, and out of it they doe imagine, that a way shalbe made for the Iewes thorow the Sea, and all floodes shalbe dried up before them. Bot if these wordes shalbe exponed properly, what kynd of miracle shall that bee ? shall the Iewes who ar scattered into all the corners of the earth, have a drie passage thorow everie river ? and the Egyptian or Read Sea be destroyed ? Or is it not rather in a spiritual sense, that the Lord will remove all impedimentes, which may hinder the course

course of the gospel : and he hes opened a way into that kingdome of heaven from which we wer exiled in Adam, and spiritual Pharao is drowned or destroyed in the Red Sea or bloodie death of Christ ; and by a michtie wind of preaching the Lord hes made his power knowen everie wher, even alsensibly, as when he brought Israel out of Egypt.

Pag. 16 Such another prophecie is that of Ezek. 37. 19. 21. and 27 and Hos. 1 10. 11. In both which prophecies the Lord hes promised, that the Iewes sh ill again live under one king only (as they had done before the division of the tribes) and that in their own land too : which hes not been yet performed : and therfor the tyme of these prophecies is yet to come. Ans. The lyke prophecie is lykwise expounded : bot for further clearing of these I adde. That of Ezek. 37 is expounded by Christ Ioh. 10. 14. 16, I am the good shepherd and know my sheep -- and other sheep I have which ar not of this fold : them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and ther shalbe one fold and one sheepherd. Wher we see, that Christ is the sheepherd (and by consequence the king too, unlesse they will understand the 24 v. of Ezek. 37 of two different persones) and the people over whom he reigneth ar his sheep, not only of the Iewes, bot of another fold, whom Christ bringeth into the same fold, that is, into the same Church. 2 the same wordes speaking of Christ and calling him David and king and sheepherd, shew that they must be spiritually understood. 3 the 25 verse may be more easly understood in the spiritual then earthly sense : to wit, the land that I have given unto Iacob, and they shall dwell therin for ever, and my servant shalbe their Prince for ever: for that land wes not given unto Iacob, nether doe the Millenaries say, that the Iewes shall dwell for ever in Ierusalem, bot for a 1000 yeers, and then Christs kingdome shall cease. Bot expone that one word *land* typically for the thing typified thereby, and all the other wordes goe currently, even to the end of the chapter, as we see the Apostle expones the 27 verse, of the Corinthianes as a parte of these people 2 Cor. 6. 16 Now seing certainly Christ is the king and sheepherd, and the people ar the Iewes and gentiles, who wer strangely divided, bot now ar one

Church by faith in Christ, therfor the people of Israel and Ephraim (who after the division wer alwyse idolatrous) may wel be exponed typically for the gentiles: and so the union is easily understood, which otherwyse verie hardly or scarcely can be conceived, seing now throgh many ages Ephraimites ar not knowen in any part of the earth. As for that text of Hosee, it is exponed of the gentiles Rom. 9. 25. 26: and therfor the Prophet changeth the word Israel into Iezreel, that is, the seed of God; signifying that the tyme wherein the Lord shall gather his seed or the faithfull in all nationes from the bondage of the devill, shalbe verie great and wonderfull unto all the world.

Pag. 17 Though this of Hosea be understood by some expositiones, of the vocation of the gentiles --- yet doubtles they ar much mistaken in this exposition. Ans. This is a quarell against the Apostle: and now let all the world judge, w hither he or the Millenaries being contrarie shalbe followed, especially seing now we have found, that our Saviour exponing the former prophecie of Ezekiel, and the Apostle exponing this lyk prophecie of Hosee, doe accomde harmoniously. *Inst. How can that belong unto the gentiles, which wes prophecied only of the Jewes, as is declared by the prophets Wife of whoredomes, which he took of purpose to upbrayd the idole worship and spirituall whoredomes of the Israelites v. 2? and therfor when she conceived and bare him the second Sone, God sayd, Call his name, Loammī: for yee ar not my people, and I will not be your God.* Ans. It wes not prophecied of the Jewes only: for it is plaine that Hosee speakes of the Israelites alsweell as of the Jewes: and generally the Apostle speakes Rom. 10. 12, the r is no difference between the lew and the Greek: for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him. So that albeit the prophet wes sent personally unto the Israelites, yet his wordes wer no lesse true and meened of the gentiles, who then wer not the people of God, bor now throgh Christ ar the people of God, for whosoever shall call upon the name of God shalbe saved. *Inst. 2 the place wher they wer told so, wes their owne land, and therfor in that place it shalbe sayd again unto them, Ye ar the sones of the living God. v. 10.* Ans. 1. wher it is sayd v. 10, in that

that place, yee may read on the margine, In stead of that it was sayd, &c. and therfor that word proves nothing. 2. it is no lesse true, that the gentiles ar the people of God even in the same landes wher they did not serve God. 3. this is no applying by way of similitude, but accommodating (as Piscator speakes) to another particulare, that as the Israelites by idolatrie became lyke unto the gentiles, so the gentiles receiuing the Gospell ar Jewes or the people of God. And this exposition is not only likely, but verie certane, seing the Apostle expones these Prophecies of Gods mercie toward the gentiles, as yow may see by the authorities, which ar urged to this purpose in the 10 and 15 ch. of the Epistle to the Rom. and elswe. And albeit this Authour say, *that Paul citeth these wordes for establishing the freeness of Gods election by an instance of the Israelites, whom God had for a long tyme rejected, and wold again receive*; this snbterfuge will not serue, for he saith in the preceding page, that the Prophecie Hos. 1. is meaned only of the Iewes; and if that wer true (which I have proved to be false) it is not meaned of the Israelites. 2. the Apostle v. 24. is speaking expressely of the faithfull not of the Iewes only, but also of the gentiles, and hitherto he useth the testimonie of Hosee. 3. of the gentiles deeth he expone these same testimonies in other textes, wher he is not speaking of election nor of the freeness therof, as 2 Cor. 6:16. *Inst. 3. And this the 27 v. seemeth to confirme, wher it is sayd, Esaias also crieth: for what makes the copulative also here, if the Apostle understood not the former prophcie of Israel as wel as this?* Ans. The copulative knitteth the testimonies, and shewes that they must both be understood of these people, which ar named v. 24. 2. this is yet more cleared by the 30 v. What shall we say then? that the gentiles who followed not after richteousnes have attained to richteousnesse, but Israel who followed after the lawe of richteousnesse, hes not attained. There it is manifest, that he speakes of the gentiles attaining to richteousnesse, and of Israel not attaining it: and nevertheless the opposition is not simply of the two people, but of their seeking richteousnesse two contrarie wayes, towit, by faith, and by workes of the lawe. And now yee see it sufficiently de-

clared, that these prophecies doe not belong unto the Iewes or Israelites only.

Pag. 19. Ther is yet in Hos. 3. 4. one more material argument for the Iewes deliverance --- which prophecie can not possibly yet be fulfilled: for if it be meant only of the ten tribes, among whom Hosea prophesied, it is confessed that they did never yet returne: and if of the other two, it must be meant of their captivitie since our Saviours coming: for till then the Scepter could not depart from Iudah, as Iacob foretold Gen. 49. 10. and therfor till then they could not be without a Prince or Governours of that tribe, although they wer long before tributarie to other nationes: and this is also intimated by these wordes, The later dayes, which ar no wher put for the tyme before the incarnation, of Christ. Ans. This argumentation faileth in both partes: bot first mark, that all these wordes can not be meant properly: for the word David can not be understood of Salomons father, bot of Christ the sone of David or typified by David: and therfor that prophecie could not bee fulfilled till the incarnation of Christ, and then it might be fulfilled. 2. And consequently these wordes, The later dayes, though they be no wher put for the dayes before the incarnation, yet they ar often put for the dayes of the Gospell, seing in the last dayes God hes spoken unto us by his Sone. Now the first part of the dilemma is false: for if that prophecie be meant of the ten tribes, as they abode many dayes without a king, &c. so who dar deny, that they did returne and seek the Lord their God and Christ their king? When the Gospell was preached to the scattered strangers not only thorow Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia 1 Pet. 1. 1. bot lykwyse to Syria, Assyria, &c. and expressly to the twell tribes scattered abroad Iam. 1. 1. who can hold the negative, that the children of Israel did never returne and seek Christ? and the other part is no lesse faulty: for Christ came not till the Scepter wes departed from Iudah; and these wordes The later dayes, are not to be referred unto the fourt verse (as if the Israelites should abide many dayes without a king and sacrifice in the later dayes, and then returne) bot unto the fift v. in the end wherof they ar, and so in the later dayes they shall returne (not into their land; this text saith not so,

so, but) and seek the Lord their God and Christ their king, as they did Act. 2. 41. and 4. 4. and in several ages. And so both the partes of this argument being false, the wordes of Hof. 3. ar more against the temporal Monarchie than for it. What is here interiected of the Antichrist upon the conjecture of the Papist is not to our purpose.

Pag. 22. Wee ar to shew the Iewes peaceable & prosperous estate after their returne. Read what Ieremie hes written c. 23. 3. 4. & c. 31. 10. 27. 31. till 35. and c. 32. 37. till 42. and c. 33. 6. 7. 8. 9. and c. 46. 27. 28. and c. 50. 19. 20. Ezek. 28. 25. 26. and c. 34. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. and v. 24. till 30. & c. 36. 8-16. & v. 24-37 & c. 39. 25. till the end. Zach. 10. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. And on the margine of pag. 22. he sayth, I appeal here to the consciences of all men, that shall read these or the lyke prophecies in the word of God, whither they can think it possible, that the time appointed by God for the dispensation of such extraordinarie blessings, should be the verie same, in which the world and especially the Christian part of it wes to groaw under the continowed plagues written in the Revelation: which yet we must grant to be so, if we rest on these interpretations, by which all such prophecies ar only or chiefly applied to the anticipated conversion of us substituted gentiles. Ans. 1. All these prophecies ar to the same purpose, and therfor it wes needlesse to have reherfed so many of them, unlesse he had a mind to muster them all: bot number prevaileth not in this case. 2. none sayth, that these prophecies wer only accomplished at the same tyme of the plagues: bot we deny, that the plagues wer continowed, seing the Christianes have their own times of joye alswel as of mourning, and the woman is cloathed with the sun, howbeit at other periodes she be forced to flee into the wilderness: and therfor both the appeal in the beginning, and the supposition in the closure of this marginal note, is a vaine bragge. Why should one appeal in this maner to the consciences of al, seing all interpreteres from the beginning of the Christian Church (except a few Millenaries) till this tyme have exponed these textes not of the Iewes only, bot of the Christian Church? and it may be easly understood, that these have written according to their consciences; and therfor if these be Iudges, this
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author hes lofed the cause. *Pag. 29. Which prophecies, as they conteen many evident and unanswerable argumentes for a future reftauration of Israel, I mean, a reftauration yet to come; fo they have fuch correſpondence with that of Iſa. 59. 20. and Amos. 9. 13. (both which ar alledged by the Apoſtles Act. 15. 16. and Rom. 11. 26. 27. for the converſion of the Iewes after the fulneſſe of the gentiles is come in, that is, after all thoſe of the gentiles, which ar appointed to be called before Christs coming again, be converted or rather perhaps, when the fulneſſe of the gentiles ſhall come in, that is, when the tyme ſhall come, in which (not a part, as now, but, all the gentiles that ar left, ſhall throug the wonderfull deliverance of the Iewes, together with them, feare the Lord) that ſeing theſe ar not yet fulfilled, neither can any of the other: betwixt which and that of Amos ther is not any material difference, and no other betwixt them and that of Iſaiah, than ther is betwixt a comment and the text, &c.* Anf. We grant that theſe prophecies conteen evident argumentes for a future reftauration of Israel, if yow will acknowledge that which is before clearly proved by the teſtimonies of the Apoſtles, and by experience, that is, that they ar begun already in parte: we grant alſo, that they have ſuch correſpondence with theſe textes of Eſaie and Amos and many moe too: but we denie 1. your manner of reftauration, and we hold that the ſpiritual reftauration is more glorious for the honour of God and weel of Israel. 2. we denie that the Apoſtle James alledged the prophecie of Amos for ſuch a converſion of the Iewes: for he ſpeakes expreſſely of viſiting the gentiles, to take out of them a people unto His name Act. 15. 14. and of this viſiting he expones the wordes of Amos and the other Prophetes: he ſpeakes not only of Amos, but ſayth generally, and to this aggrie the wordes of the Prophetes. 3 we denie that the Apoſtle Paul alledged the prophecie of Eſaie to that pretended purpoſe, for he ſayth not, and then all Israel ſhall e ſaved, but, and ſo all Israel ſhalbe ſaved: he ſhewes no order or difference in tyme, but makes a concluſion out of the former wordes, wher he ſayth, Blindneſſe in parte is hapned to Israel, untill the fulneſſe of the gentiles ſhall come in: and then he inferreth, And ſo all Israel ſhalbe ſaved: and therfor the concluſion

clusion must be expounded according to the preceding wordes, that is, all Israel as the called of Israel and of the gentiles: there is a distinction twixt Israel, and all Israel; and all Israel is more than Israel, seing it includes lykwyse the faithfull gentiles: and in this signification the proof following in the cited testimonie must necessarilye be understood, and not of a calling of the Iewes after the full calling of the gentiles: and far lesse of that calling, which (he sayth) shal perhaps be (not in part but) of all the gentiles that shalbe left. Yea these conjectures destroy one another: for if the calling of the Jewes shalbe after the fulnesse of the calling of the gentiles, then all the gentiles that shalbe left can not be called through the wonderfull deliverance of the Jewes. And this last conjecture destroyeth a maine tenete of the Millenaries, who say, that the Iewes shall rule over all the nationes, and hold them in subjection till the end of the 1000 yeers, and then these profane nationes shall rylse again in armes against the Iewes. Now seing betwixt these above named prophecies of Jere. 23. and 31, &c. and these two of Esaie and Amos, ther is not any material difference, and no other difference them betwixt a brief intimation and a large explication of the same thing: and seing these prophecies of Esaie and Amos ar to be understood of the Christian Church and estate therof from the beginning till the end, as the Apostles James and Paul expone them, this conclusion followes, These above named prophecies give no ground for the earthly monarchie of the Jewes. And so much the rather may everie one embrace this conclusion, that we find the greatest part of these prophecies so expounded in other passages of the New Testament as that of Jere. 31. 1. in 2 Cor. 6. 18: and Iere. 31. 31. till 35. in Heb. 8. 8. and c. 10. 16. 17: and Iere. 32. conteenes the same wordes which c. 31. 31: so does that of c. 33. 8, and to the same purpose is that of c. 50. 20: and that of Ezek. 34 concerning the gathering and feeding the sheep is expounded by our Saviour Ioh. 10. 11. 16: and that of c. 39. is correspondent which the prophecies of Joel, wherof we spak before: and that of Zach. 10. is one which Iere. 23. 6. 8, and other that ar handled before. It is to be marked that in the

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testimonie Ier. 33 is omitted v. 12. 13 : wher is prophesied, that in all the cities of that land shalbe an habitation of shepherdes, causing their flockes to lye down there, even in the cities of the mountaynes, the cities of the valeyes, the cities of Benjamin and the cities of Iudah. What ? is this the glorie of Christs kingdome, that sheep shall lye in his cities? Or doeth not rather the Lord understand the spiritual thiepe of Christ, whom he will have gathered by his spiritual pastoures everie wher? as he exponeth it Ezek 34. 31. *Yee flock of my pasture ar men, and I am your God, sayth the Lord.* Lykwise this authour slippeth over v. 18. and 22, wher perpetuitie of sacrifices and Levites is promised als plainly, as the throne of David. Shall in the last dayes the meat-offerings, and burnt-offerings, and the house of Levi be restored? I think, They will not say it, lest they contradict the gospel, which hath abolished that order. And neverthelesse the Lord sayth so in Ieremie. Hes the Lord sayd it, and will he not performe it? Yea, he hes performed it, as the Apostle witnesseth 1. Pet. 2. 5, yee also as Livelie stones ar built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spirituall sacrifices to God by Iesus Christ. And as the promises of the priesthood ar fulfilled spiritually and not in a proper sense, so we must think of the promises concerning the kingdome, seing they both ar conioyned and mixed after the same straine, as we have them there v. 17. 18, and v. 21, 22, *Thus sayth the Lord, David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel, nether shall the priestes the Levites want a man before me to offer burnt-offerings, and to kindle meat-offerings, and to doe sacrifice continually, &c.* But all this evidence can not satisfy selfconceites : therfor it is added.

Pag. 30 in marg. *The wordes in Act. 15. 14. (upon which the prophecie of Amos is inferred) ar taken by Do. Mayer, to be meaned of the song of old Simeon, and not of the speech of Simon Peter.* Ans. Is ther not a difference twixt Symeon and Simon? Names nameth Symeon, and not Simon : wherfor not without reasoun it may be thoucht, that he meaned old Symeon, especially seing Luke is the writer of both bookes, and if the wordes of Symeon doe

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heer unto aggrie more than the wordes of Peter, who should
dout that James spak of him? Wherefor consider the wordes of
old Symeon Luk. 2. 30. It is sayd of him, not only that he was a
just man and devote, waiting for the consolation of Israel, and
the holy Ghost wes upon him, but lykewise, It was reveled unto
him by the holy Ghost, that he should not see death before he
had seene the Lords Christ, and he came by the Spirit into the
temple. All which particulares serve verie much to purchase
credite unto his testimonie, who sayth: My eyes have seen thy
salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people,
a light to lichten the gentiles and the glorie of thy people of Is-
rael. We may see, that he declares there the fulfilling (at that
time) of the prophecie Esa. 49. 6. And he sayd, Is it a light thing,
that thou shouldst be my servant, to raise up the tribes of Iacob,
and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a
light unto the gentiles, that thou mayst be my salvation unto the
endes of the earth: and c. 52. 9. Break forth into joy, sing to-
gether yee wast places of Ierusalem: for the Lord hes comforted
his people, he hes redeemed Ierusalem: the Lord hes made bare
his holy arme in the eyes of all nationes, and all the endes of the
earth shall see the salvation of our God. To the same purpose is
c. 60. 1. 3. 19, and c. 62. 1. 2. 11. Where we see, the faithfull ar bid-
den reioice at the coming of Christ; and so did Symeon, when he
sawe him: Christ is called the salvation of the Lord, and Symeon
speaking unto God, sayth of Christ, My eyes have seen thy sal-
vation: the Messiah is called a light unto the gentiles into all the
endes of the earth, and Symeon sayth, Which thou hast prepared
before the face of all people, a light to lichten the gentiles: Christ
is called the glorie of Sion and Ierusalem; and Symeon sayth,
Christ is the glorie of thy people of Israel. And so by the testi-
monie of old Symeon (which is approved and registred by the
Spirit of God) these and the lyke prophecies should not be re-
stricted unto the second coming, but wer in part fulfilled at the
first coming of Christ, and therfor also all that followes in that
long tailed note is a frivolous discourse, as we may see by the
unanimous consent in the true worship of God, betwixt the

Jewes and other nationes in the same 15. chapter of the actes, wher the Jewes and gentiles conueen in the general synode, howbeit the ods continowe twixt the obstinate both Jewes and gentiles on the one part, and the seed of Abraham, believers both the Jewes and gentiles on the other both in their opinion and practise of religious dueties. *Inst.* It can not be, but that the wordes after this in the prophecie being applied to the foresayd visuing of the gentiles by the preaching of the Gospell, must needs conclude, that the extraordinary restoration of the Jewes, forshewn by the Prophet, wes to follow the calling of the gentiles then begun by the Apostles. *Ans.* The Prophet Amos in that chap. before the v. 11. speaks not of the calling of the gentiles, and the Apostle cites the same wordes of v. 11. for the calling of the gentiles: nether hes the Prophet these wordes, after this, but, in these dayes: and howbeit the Apostle cite them so, yet they must be understood of the order of thinges mentioned by the Prophet, which is a restoration after the destruction of Israel, and not a Monarchie of the Jewes after the calling of the gentiles. Wherby it is manifest that in this note is a twofold errour; one inserting the wordes in the prophecie, which ar not in it; another in misinterpreting the wordes of the Apostle. *Inst.* 2. God could not at that tyme be sayd to returne unto the gentiles, whom he had bot then received; no, nor to the Jewes, whom he had then (and not till then) quite forsaken. *Ans.* This is meer cavilling. Before the calling of the gentiles, wes not God averse from them, and they from him? and therfor when he looked graciously upon them, he is truely sayd to returne unto them. Again in the wordes of Amos immediatly preceding we see that the Lord wes offended with Israel, and when he sent the salvation of God and glorie of Israel among them, it may be als truely sayd, that he returned unto them. Thridly it is often in this note repeted, that he had quite forsaken the Jewes: bot the Apostle can not suffer this phrase Rom. 11. 1. Hes God cast away his people, God forbid, for I also am an Israelite, &c. bot more of this purpose heerafter. *Inst.* 3. And yet ther want not some, who by the wordes all Israel Rom. 11. understand only the church of the gentiles, to which some of the Jewes should be united.

united. Anſ. All this ſection feightes againſt vaine imaginati-
 ones for (as it is ſayd) by all Iſrael we underſtand not the gentiles
 onely, but the ſeed of the promiſe, that is, the faithfull Iewes and
 others in all nationes. As for that prophecie of Eſa. 66. 8, wes
 it not fulfilled truly (albeit not fully) when the believing church
 travelled and brougat furth ſo great multitudes in one day, as
 may be called a nation, as 3000 and 5000 converted in a day
 Act. 2. 41 and 4. 4, and the people with one accorde gave heed
 unto theſe thinges, which Philip ſpake, and they who all had given
 themſelves unto Simon Magus from the leaſt to the greateſt,
 believed and wer baptized both men and women c. 8. 6. and c.
 19. 17. 18. this wes knowne unto all the Iewes and Greekes
 dwelling at Epheſus, and fear fell on them all, and the name of
 the Lord Ieſus wes magnified, and many believed, and v. 20.
 ſo much they grew the word of God, and prevailed not only at
 Epheſus, but almoſt thorow out all Aſia v. 10 and 26, beſides
 many other paſſages and other great and miraculous converſio-
 nes, wherof we read in Eccleſiaſtical H. ſtories. So that what
 wes a wonderment unto Eſaie or the faithfull in his time (Who
 theſe heard ſuch a thing!) heſe been truly done many a day before
 theſe our dayes. The evidence wherof, mee thinkes, ſhould be
 motive enough to make any partiall or unpartiall Reader under-
 ſtand that prophecie generally; and ſo much the rather that (by
 this Authour's owne confeſſion pag. 33.) it implieth not ſo much
 the returne of the whol nation to their countrey, as to their God.
 It is certane, it wes in part fulfilled at their returning from Babel:
 for then they reared up their wailes, they planted vineyard-
 es, &c. but it is a groſſe opinion to think, that all the particulars
 of theſe prophecies ſhould be fulfilled (in a proper acceptation
 of the wordes) at one and the ſame juncture of time: and it is
 als vaine to think, that that prophecie of Ioel concerning the
 plentifull powring down of the Spirit could not be fulfilled by
 accompliſhment of our Saviours prophecie, Mat. 21. 43. ther is
 no dependance of this prophecie on the wordes of Ioel, and
 everie one who heſe eyes may ſee, that our Saviour ſpakeſ not
 there of the temporal kingdome of the Jewes, but of the Goſpell,

seing he calleth it the kingdom of God, and he sayth, It shall be taken from them, and another nation shall bring furth the frutes of it: their temporal kingdom was taken from them already, and these last wordes can not be understood of any temporal kingdome: nether was these Romanes, who destroyed Ierusalem, more devoute than the stubborne Iewes.

Pag. 33. You have heard of the deliverance and happynesse of the Iewes: I shall acquaint you now with their partakers. Ans. It is now manifest that these forenamed prophecies are not of the earthly prosperitie of the Iewes only, and we know certainly that the gentiles are partakers with the Iewes; so that the proof of this point is needlesse, and neverthelesse he filleth up same pages with prophecies to this purpose, and he sayth *Pag. 37. I know, that most of these prophecies are chiefly interpreted of the joyning together of the Iewes and gentiles in one Church, and richly.* Ans. If they be chiefly and richly interpreted so, why should we not acquiesce? shall we goe about to interpret them unrichly? that we to put out our eyes, and deceive our selves and others. *Inst.* *But to say, that this is now fulfilled in the tyme of the substitute gentiles vocation, is to overthrow what was before affirmed---*: for Paul telles us plainly *Rom. 11. that the Iewes are broken off from their olive, and that we are grafted-in for them, that they are cast away, that they are hardened, that God has concluded them all in unbelieve, and through their fall salvation is come to us, to provoke them to jealousy: and therefore it can not possibly be maintained, that the Iewes and gentiles are at yet one shiepfold.* Ans. The Apostle sayth not, that all the Iewes are broken off; but rather the contradiatorie *v. 1. and 5:* nether sayth he, that God has shutt up all the Iewes in unbelieve, that he might have mercie upon all the Iewes: but (as our former translation sayth conforme to the original) God has shutt up all in unbelieve that he might have mercie on all: wherunto aggrie the wordes of the same Apostle *Gal. 3. 22,* The Scripture has concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith in Iesus Christ might be given to them who believe. Here the Apostle is not speaking of the Iewes only, but generally both of Iewes and gentiles; and so far must his wordes be extended there too, seing
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he is speaking of them v. 30 and 31; and to the meaning of v. 32 is, It was the counsell of God to suffer both Jewes and gentiles fall into unbelieff or disobedience (as the word *Apeitheia* lykwyse importes, and the word sin teaches Gal. 3.) that he might save all his elect both of Jewes and gentiles after one way, not by their workes, but of his mercie only. And therfor I can not possibly conceive, how a man of understanding, can bring or receive such a conclusion out of these wordes, as this, It can not possibly be manteined, that the Jewes and gentiles ar as yet one sheepfold. For besides the fallacie of the consequence, the conclusion is contrarie to the expresse wordes of Scripture, especially, Eph. 2. 11. Remember, that yee being in time past gentiles in the flesh, who wer called uncircumcision by that which is called the circumcision in the flesh made by handes,--- but now in Christ Iesus yee who somtymes wer farre off, ar made nigh by the blood of Christ: for he is our peace, who hes made both one, having broken down the middle wall--for to make in himselfe of twaine one new man. And who will denie, that the believers now living among the gentiles ar members of the same bodie and church universal, wherof Abraham, Jacob, David, Ezekias, Paul and others ar members also? Now then, even now Jewes and gentiles ar one fold. *Inst. 2.* As for these, who wer converted at the first preaching of the Gospell, and at other times since, they ar bot the first frutes and roote (as I may say) of the branches and lumps, which shall follow after them by a general conversion: and therfor the calling of these can not be more accounted a conversion of the Jewes, than the calling of the gentiles, who wer gathered to the Church before Christs nativite, can be taken for the conversion of the gentiles, who wer (as tyme hes shewen) bot the forerunners and pledge, &c. *Ans.* These who wer converted at the preaching of the Gospell, howbeit they may be called the firstfrutes of the Gospell preached since the incarnation of Christ, yet they can not be called the firstfrutes of the sheepfold, seing the Patriarches ar the roote & members of the same bodie of Christ, as they ar expressely called Rom. 11. 16. being conferred with v. 28. they ar beloved for the fathers sake. Nixt ther is a vast difference twixt the calling

calling of the gentiles under the old Test, and the calling of the Iewes under the New: for verie few gentiles wer converted, even nothing in comparison of the converted Iewes: and albeit not so many 1000 have been converted as may be converted, yet that is no impediment of the union twixt the two people, which consistes in the union of the church under the old and new Test, even albeit never a Iew wer converted. *Inst. 3.* And besides how the bringing of the Iewes out of all nationes upon horses and in litters and in charets and upon mules and upon mens shoulders, can bear any other but a literal sense, or how the vail that is spread over all nationes, can now be sayd to be destroyed, when as so many of them runne a whooring after their own inventions, I can not conceive. Tea unto this day (sayth S. Paul of the Iewes in his tyme) when Moses is read, the vail is upon their heart; nevertheles when it shall turne unto the Lord, the vail shalbe taken away 2 Cor. 3. 15. but we see not yet Israel returned -- and therfor the vail is not yet taken away. *Ans.* Whither he can not or will not conceive, it may be doutd: many 1000 have conceived both these: he gives no reasons of his douting in the former; and the cause of his douting in the other is naught: for albeit the vail be not taken away from all the Iewes and from all of all the nationes (in which sense it shall never be taken away, seing the church on earth is alwayes a mixte companie) yet certainly it is taken away from the Iewes and all the nationes, towit, so many of them as turne unto the Lord, which ar so many as the starres of heaven, that is, innumerable to ment: for the grace of God that bringes salvation hes appeared unto all men Tit. 2. 11, and God who hes commanded the light to shine out of darknesse, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledg of the glorie of God in the face of Iesus Christ: So writes a Iew unto the gentiles 2 Cor. 4. 6. *Inst. 4.* I know no reason, wly we should give more credite to the metaphorical interpretation of these prophecies, than to the figurative exposition, which some presume to put upon these wordes Zach. 12. 10, although S. Iohn c. 19. 37. has allegeded them as the only cause that our Saviours side was pierced: of which fact doubtlesse ther had been no necessitie, if the prophecie wer not to be understood in a literal sense, &c. *Ans. 1.* He

He useth here Rhetorical termes, but certainly it can not be conceived by his wordes, whither he takes them properly or improperly: but we give no other interpretation of the prophecies than be literal, that is, chiefly intended, as he confesseth pag. 37. 2. The Euangelist shewes that prophēcie of Zacharie to be properly fulfilled in that parte, that the sides of our Saviour wer peirced, and no interpreter sayth, that the rest of that prophēcie wes fulfilled at that instant: but we may justly think, that many of them who consented unto his death, did mourne for that their fault; seing our Saviour prayed unto his Father to forgive them, Luk. 23. 34, and the same Euangelist beareth witnes, that they who had crucified him, wer at the preaching of Peter pricked in their heartes Act. 2. 23. 37. Wherby we conceive that that prophēcie wes not fulfilled in the disciples, neither in respect of the peircing his sides, nor of looking to him at that time (for they all fled away, excep Iohn) but in the Iewes, who indeed by wicked handes did crucifie him, and looked upon him, and afterwards did mourne for him, as one who mourneth for his only sone: and the mourning wes great, when 3000 wer together pricked in their hearts. Now consider whither this exposition be more consonante unto these wordes of the Prophet, or that other, wherby it is alledged, that all the Iewes who did not see him peirced, shall after so many hunder yeers mourne for their fathers cruel and malicious contrivance: the former is fulfilled in the same persones within the space of seven or eight weekes; and the other is not of the same persones, nerher within the space of 1600 yeers, if at any tyme it shalbe verified. *Inst. 5. It is sayd there, They shall mourne everie familie a part, and their wyfes apart.* Ans. It is sayd v. 11. ther shalbe a great mourning in Ierusalem, and v. 12, and the land shall mourne, everie familie apart, &c. wherby is intimated a distinction of the mourning in respect of place: and as thy did mourne at Ierusalem publikly, so we may easily conceive that these who had resorted at these publik feastes unto Ierusalem, did lykwyse mourne apart after their returning, and wer not contented with one dayes mourning (all factes that ar verie credible ar not
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written) And therfor as this prophecie doeth concerne the Iewes (bot not only; seing even the gentiles may be sayd to have peirced his sides by their fines meritoriously, and to look on him by faith, and mourne for their guiltynesse, &c.) and chiefly the persones that crucified their Saviour; So doubtlesse it is great impudence to affirme, that the same Prophet c. 14. 5 & 9 verses sayth, Christ shall descend unto the Iewes to restore their kingdome, for ther is not one word of restoring nor of the Iewes kingdome in these two verses.

Pag. 40. And this much of the felicitie of that remnant of the nationes, who shall outlive the rest at the Iewes returne: now a word or two of the alteration of the sensitive and senselesse creatures at that time. Esa. 11. 6, the Wolfe shall dwell with the Lambe, &c. c. 65, the Wolfe and the Lambe shall feed together, &c. When we may observe, aganst such as understand by these expressiones, the effectes of preaching on the heartes of cruel mynded men, that they ar a part of these prophecies which concerne the Jewish deliverance, and therfor can have no relation to the calling of the gentiles. Ans. As we have nothing as yet of the felicitie of the nationes at that imagined time; so these ensuing prophecies make nothing to that purpose, for in Esa. 11. 10 immediatly after the forecited wordes it is sayd, In that day ther shalbe a root of Jesse, which shall stand up for an ensigne of the people: to it shall the gentiles seek, &c. Marke 1, he sayth, In that day: so he coniouneth the preceding and following thinges in to the same time. 2. he speakes expressely of the calling of the gentiles, as it is also cited Rom. 15. 12. 3. in the wordes preceding v. 1. he speakes of the first coming of Christ; a rod shall come furth out of the stemme of Jesse, and a branche shall grow out of his rooles. 4. in the wordes following that testimonie, he speakes of the calling of the Iewes and gentiles together, as wes expounded before. And therfor this Prophecie concerneth not the Jewish Monarchie, and these wordes may be better expounded allegorically than properly. Inst. Is ther no destruction in all the Christian world, that we should flatter our selves with such vaine fancies? or rather when was their none? &c. Ans. Albeit this Author will not give glorie unto

unto God in fulfilling his promises, yet we see, that others are not so ingrate: as Act. 9. 31, then had the Churches rest throughout all Iudea and Galile and Samaria: and in other tymes we find, that the Christians had their halcyonian dayes twixt these ten great persecutions, and afterwards in the dayes of Christian Emperours and godly Kings. 2. Nether doe the Prophetes or Revelation speaking of these tymes say, Ther shall never be hurt, nor shall ever man destroy one another: but rather the propertie of the Church in this world is to be militante, and nevertheles Wolves and Lyons forsake their cruelty in the persone of many convertes. And therfor these hyperbolical complaints might weel been spared. 3. It does puzzle the Authour, that Esaie sayth c. 11. 9, For the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord: and therfor he fancieth a private conceit for expounding these wordes, of which he gives no reason: but we have given sufficient reasones for the allegoricall interpretation, which is confirmed by these wordes, to wit, that the abundance of the knowledge of the Lord is the cause, why wicked men leave their wickednesse, and adjoyne themselves unto the meek of the earth: as our Saviour sayth Mat. 10. 16. I send you as Sheep among Wolves. Of whom certainly many became sheep of Christs folde, which is a more proper effect of knowledge than the changing of beastes affectiones.

Pag. 41. By which sense I am sure, that passage of Sa. Paul Rom. 8. 21, is so wel explained, &c. Ans. The trueth of God needeth not the bouldering of mans devises. 2. the Apostle is speaking there of the final deliverance of the creature from the bondage of corruption: which is not cleared by that cohabitation of beastes, unlesse we will contente with a smal portion of deliverance for the general deliverance of the creature: which kind of contentment these Authours will not acknowledge in the accomplishment of the promises, no, nor in a fuller measure. The Authour collecteth nothing particularly from that text of Esa. 65. 25. nether is ther any word there of the Jewish Monarchie; and seeing it bes the same allegorie with that former c. 11, we goe forward.

Fig. 42. Another prophecie touching the renewed estate of the creatures is to be seen Esa. 30. 23; Then shall he give the raine of thy seed, that thou shalt sowe the ground withall. Ans. Here he shewes no argument for his purpose, bot gives a buze for reconciling the 26 verse with c. 60. 19: bot all this travel might been saved, if he had considered, that Esaie in c. 30. hes a particulare warning for the Iewes in his own time: he speaks not there of any returning of the people, but in the beginning he reproveth them for their confidence into Egypt, and for their contempt of the word, and in the midst he foretelleth the mercies of God on them, and lastly assureth them of the destruction of their enemies the Assyrians by name: all which wer accomplished in his own tyme; as we may find in c. 37. and for these causes nothing in that 30 chap, can make for the restauration of the creatures at that imagined monarchie. Inst. It is more lykly to be so here, because the happynesse which the Iewes shall then be made to live of, (shall never again be interrupted by any miserie: for the ransomed of the Lord shall returne, and come to Zion with songes and everlasting joy upon their heades, they shall obtain joy and gladnesse, and sorrow and fighting shall flee away, Esa. 35. 10. And lest we should conceive, that the judgement of the dead plainly described Rev. 20. 11. 12.) (shall either suspend or disturbe this joy, Saint Paul 1 Cor. 6. bes told us, that the saintes shall judge the world, that is, the wicked men that have been their oppr. sours, and judge the angels, that is, the evil spirits, that have been their tempters; and therfor shall not be thrust down to the bar amongst them, bot advanced to the bench aganst them: An addition doubtlesse to their happynesse, and no abatement of it. Auf. Some word of that Esa. 35. 10 must be taken in another than the proper signification: for if the word Zion be not taken for the Christian church, bot for that hill within Ierusalem, and the word Returne be meaned of bodily returning of the Iewes, the wordes of everlasting joy (being taken for worldly joy) contradicte the tenete of the thousand yeers monarchie, which shall end with an insurrection of the gentiles aganst the Iewes: but if the redeemed of the Lord be exponed for the faithfull, whom Christ our Lord hes redeemed with his blood, and their returning

turning and coming to Zion, be their repenting, and joyning to the societie of the saintes, then the everlasting joy is cleare by the wordes of our Saviour Ioh. 16. 22, yee now have sorow, but I will see yow again, and your heart shall rejoyce, and your joy shall no man take from yow. And as the judgement is unquestionable, so it is justly doubted, whither the Apostle meaneth the Iewes 1 Cor. 6. 2. 3, seing our Saviour sayth Mat. 19. 28, Yee who have followed mee in the regeneration, when the sone of man shall sit on the throne of his glorie shall sit upon 12 thrones, judging the 12 tribes of Israel, Wher the 12 tribes are not judges, but the judged. But certainly he meaneth not of their judging in the temporal monarchie, seing the angels shall not be judged before the universall judgement: and the Apostle sayth, how much more things appertaining unto this lyfe? wherby it appeares, that in the first part of the verse he understandes a judgement not in this lyfe. And in both respects these wordes of the Apostle are a diminution doubtlesse unto that imagined monarchie.

Pag. 44. is a protestation of God out of Ier. 31. 35, and a complaint of Israel in Mic. 7. 8. Ans. We acknowledge both in their own sense and trueth; but nothing is in them, nor collected out of them for proof of this purpose.

Pag. 45. *And so I passe from the thing to be restored, which is the kingdom of Israel, to the persone by whom it is to be restored, which is Christ the Lord at his next appearing.* Ans. If the temporal kingdom of the Iewes could be demonstrated out of the Scriptures, the question anent the king might more easily be resolved: and neverthelesse these few Millenaries can not aggrie concerning the person of their king: for Mr. Maroun thinkes, that Christ shall continow visible king of this kingdome, and M. Archer thinkes, that Christ shall restore the kingdome unto the Iewes, and returne into the heavens till the 1000 years be expired, and in the mean time the Iewes shall be kinges. Till these two questions be decided, we might supersede, and nevertheles let us hear what they can say for a temporarie kingdome of Christ whichever over Jewes and gentiles. *Pag. ead. That our Mediator*

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phath undergone the offices of a priest and prophet, the gospel is our witness. but considering that the Jewes ar yet to receive a kingdome, a kingdome in which they shal hold them captives whose captives they ar, and in which peace and righteousnesse shall flourish. 14. 1. 13. considering this we may justly doubt, whether our Saviour hath as yet executed the office of a king; and so much the rather, because he took our nature on him, as well to performe his kingly office herein amongst us, as either his priestly or prophetical; the glorie of this being indeed the reward of that contempt and torment which he suffered in the other; and though it can not be denied, that he hath already spoiled principalities and powers (that is, the evil spirits) and hes made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in his crosse, nor that he is ascended up on high, and hes led captivitie captive, and given giftes unto men: nor that he is become the head of all principallitie and power (that is, of the saintes and holy angels) and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God, so that he is able to subdue all thinges unto himself. Yet that he doeth not now reigne in that kingdome, which he shall governe as man, and consequently in that of which he prophetes speake, his own wordes in Rev 3 21. doe clearly prove, To him that overcomes (sayth he) will I grant to sit with mee in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne. From whence it followes, that the throne which he calleth his own, and which he hes not yet received Heb. 2. 8, and 10. 12. 13 must needs belong unto him as man, because the place, wher he now sittes, is the Fathers throne, a throne in which he hes no proper interest, but as God. Ans. He grantes, that Christ is now a king, and that he hes execute the kingly office, but he denieth that he hes reigned in an earthly kingdome as man: in all which we aggrie: but we disaggree in two particulars, 1. that the Prophetes have spoken of such a kingdome. This remaineth as yet to be proved. 2. that he sittes on a throne in heaven as man. If these wordes as man be understood according to the Logical acceptation, it may be granted: for what aggruieth unto any man as man, belongeth unto all man, and indeed it belongeth not unto all men to sitte on the throne of Majesty: And nevertheles Christ sittes at the right hand of the Father as God-man or Mediatour; and in this sense we denie this

this assertion, as (it seemes) this Authour takes it. And in this sense consider his considerations: wherof the first is, *that the Iewes ar yet to receive a kingdome, in which they shall hold them captives, whose captives they ar.* Ans. Here a little change of a little word makes a great difference: for the text sayth, *Whose captives they wer,* and now they say, *They ar.* The Prophet is speaking by name of the Assyrianes, whose Monarchie is now destroyed, and the Interpreters shew the accomplishment of that prophecie according to the Prophets meaning: but that prophecie speakes not of them, whose captives the Iewes now ar: nether know wee whose captives they ar, seing they live as free subjectes whersoever they live. Consider. 2. *He took our nature on him as weel to performe his Kingly office amongst us, as either his Priestly or Propheticall: the glorie of this being, &c.* Ans. It is manifest, that he reigueth in us, seing the faithfull can say with the Apostle Gal. 2. 20. *the lyfe which now I live, I live by faith in the Sone of God, and, Christ lives in mee:* but that the glorie of an earthly kingdome is the reward of his contempt and torment we can not think, seing such a glorie is not answerable unto his sufferings, who being equal with God made himself of no reputation, and humbled himself even to the death of the crosse. Wherfor his reward is not differed so long, but now God hes exalted him highly and given him a name, which is above everie name Phil. 2, and he for the joy that wes set before him endured the crosse and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God, Heb. 12, 2, which is a greater honour than of an earthly throne. Consider. 3. *His own wordes doe clearly prove it, Rev. 3. 21.* Ans. Can any man see in these wordes anything for an earthly kingdome? for albeit the throne of the Father & the throne of our Saviour wer diverse, yet may they not both be in heaven? Consider. 4. *That which he calleth his own throne he has not yet received Heb. 2. 8, & 10. 12, 13.* Ans. The wordes Heb. 2. 8 ar, *Thow hast put all things under his feet:* for in that he put all thing in subjection under him, he left nothing that is not put under him, but we see not yet all thing put under him. Here is a twofold universality, al thing is put under him, &c, nothing is not put under him. What

What more wold yee have? *The last wordes say, all thing is put under him.* If the last wordes say so, they must be contrarie to the former wordes: bot the wordes ar, *Wee see not all thing put under him: nether is the word Receive there, which is the point in hand.* Now these two ar far different, *Wee see not all thing put under him, and, he hes not received all thing to be under him.* So this text in stead of proof convinceth the foolish Tenete. It may be, this is more clear in c. 10. 12. 13, wher it is sayd, *He sate down on the right hand of God (There the hight of glorie) expecting from hencefurth till his enemies be made his footestool.* What is here for an earthly throne or another throne? his enemies ar made subject unto him, even his greatest enemies, as it is granted before: but so long as this world continowes, new enemies thalbe arising, and can he not subdue them, as he hes done others, unlesse he erect and site on an earthly throne? *Consi. 5. Seing he sutes now on his Fathers throne, therfor nether is this the tyme, nor that the place, in which his throne is to be erected: not the place, because in one kingdome ther can be but one throne; and not the time, for then he should site on his own throne, which now he doeth not.* Ans. If this be not to deceive with wordes, I knowe not what it is to deceive. One and the same throne is called the throne of God and of the Lambe, Rev. 22. 3: and therfor his Fathers throne is his own throne, as he sayth generally Ioh. 17. 10, *all my thinges ar thyn, and all thyn ar myne:* and so both partes of the proof fall to the ground: in one kingdome is bot one throne, and that throne belongeth unto the Father and unto the Sone, and now he sites on his own throne, as it is sayd expressely unto the Sone Heb. 1. 8, *Thy throne is for ever and ever: and he prayeth for no other glorie, bot that which he hade before the world wes,* Ioh. 17. 5. *Consi. 6. He hes a throne which belongeth unto him as man, and so the throne of the Father he hes no proper intereste, bot as God.* Ans. Shew then any text that speakes of his two thrones: yea if he have or shall have any throne as man, and not as God, it must be given unto him: bot it is now given unto him to site on his Fathers throne, and his given throne is the throne of his Father. *Inst. The reasonn of it*

(as is intimated in the first wordes) is because the tyme in which all that shall overcome is to be called, is not yet at an end, and this also the answer, which was made unto the soules under the altare (which cried for vengeance against their persecutions) does fully confirme: for it was sayd unto them, they should rest yet for a litle season untill their fellow-servantes also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled Rev. 6. 11. and when this is done Rev. 11. 15. then shall Christ sit on his throne, and they that overcome shall sit with him: for he that overcomes and keepes, &c. Rev. 2. 26. Ans. The force of this reason is, Christ shall not be a king till all his subjectes be called and overcome, but his subjectes are not all yet called: which forme is alik with this, Ferdinand shall not be Emperour till all his subjectes be borne and be victorious, wher as some of his subjectes are coming dayly into the world, and (it may be) moe of them are dayly departing. This is a ridiculous reason; and so is the other. 2. Nether does that prayer of the saintes make mention of his earthly kingdome, but of subduing or revenging their enemies, which shalbe without an earthly Monarchie, to wit, by punishing them in hell. 3. That text Rev. 11. 15 speaks not of a proper kingdom of Christ, (and farlesse of an earthly kingdome) but of the kingdome of our Lord and his Christ: if it had been sayd, Of our Lord and Christ, or, of our Lord Christ, it might be thought to be the proper kingdome of Christ which he as man governes or shall governe: but when it is sayd, Of our Lord and of his Christ, we see a distinction of persones, and unitie of power: And therfor it is clear, that the text Revel. 2. 26. is impertinently cited for proof of that thing which is not, and is imagined to be on earth; wheras that power is in heaven. Inst. 2. The lyke encouragement he gave also to his disciples before his passion; Yee are they (sayd he) who have continued with mee in my tentationes, therfor I appointe unto you a kingdome, &c. Luk. 22. 28. Ans. It might been more for his purpose to have conceiled this text, which makes the 12 tribes of Israel the persones judged: and all the textes quoted on the margine speak of the kingdom of God, except that of Luk. 24. 43, 43. wher is mention of no kingdome, but of eating and drinking after

Christs resurrection: and if that be the kingdome, wherof our Saviour speakes c. 12. 29, that kingdome is come already. *Inst. 3.* I know these wordes are taken by interpreters for a metaphorical expression of these joyes, which he shall receive in heaven: but it is a current axiome in our schooles, *Non esse à litera seu propria Scriptura significatione recedendum, nisi aliqua necessitas cogat, & Scriptura veritas in ipsa litera periclitari videtur.* Ans. It may be doubted, whether this Authour has been bred in schooles, or what he calleth our schooles, seeing he so abuseth rhetorical termes (as literal sense for proper sense; metaphorical sense contradistinguished to figurative sense) and keepes no logical canones in his arguing; and I think, he did never learne such interpretation of Scripture in any approved schoole. As for this rule, he may see partly by that is sayd, and shall see more heerafter, that these wordes can not be understood of an earthly kingdome: neither doe these forecited Scriptures compell us (as he boldly sayth) to stick unto the earthly sense of this text in hand. *Inst. 4.* For besides that there is little analogie and resemblance betwixt a perpetual praying and worshipping God, and the businesse of a politike government here spoken of; besides this (I say) we are already informed that though our Saviour be now in heaven, yet he sits not there on his own throne, and consequently is not yet in the kingdome, which the Father has appointed him. Ans. What impudence is here! doeth not David say Psalm. 16. 11. In thy presence is the fulnesse of joy: at thy right hand are pleasures for evermore? and Psalm. 17. 15, I shall be satisfied, when I awake with thy likeness, and Psalm. 36. 8, they shall be abundantly satisfied with the fulnesse of thy house, and thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures. These and many more are spoken of the joyes in heaven by resemblance with earthly kingdomes. And we have already shewed that he has been misinformed (or misinformeth) of another throne and another kingdome. *Inst. 5.* It is plaine from St. Paul 1 Cor. 15. 22, that as shall not bee there after the judgement of the dead: his wordes are these, as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive: but every man in his order; Christ the first fruites, afterwards they that are Christs at his coming. And on the margine he addeth, They that are Christs, as if there were not to be some distance of time betwixt the resurrection

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tion of these and other men, it had been as easie for the Apostle to have sayd, They that ar dead, or, all that ar in the grave. Ans. 1. Whither the Apostle might have sayd so, or so: can any man gather necessarily out of these wordes so great a distance of time betwixt the resurrection of the godly and of the ungodly? Here the Apostle nameth the godly, & not the ungodly, not importing any notable distance of time; but because he had sayd v. 22, In Christ all shalbe made alive: which wordes can not be properly and univocally meaned of the ungodly, whose rising shalbe for the accomplisment of their second death; therfor here v. 23, he justly omittes the mention of the ungodly, and speakes of the godly, as also he does 1 Th. ss. 4. 16. 17: wher we find expressly an order among the godly, say. ng, The dead in Christ shal ryse first, & then we who ar alive and remaine shalbe caught up together with them in the cloudes, to meet the Lord in the aire. The Apostle in both textes speakes of the same coming of Christ, (as this Authour acknowledges & applieth the wordes to the same purpose p. 50) as none will say, that ther shalbe any notable prioritie in tyme twixt the one and the other sorte meeting Christ; so and far lesse doe these wordes speaking only of them that ar in Christ, importe two resurrectiones different the one from the other the space of 1000 years. Yea and the Apostle saying, that we shalbe caught up and meet the Lord in the aire, and so shalbe ever with him; how can any imagine that we shal come doun again from the aire to abide so long a space on the earth: and therfor he speakes there of the general resurrection, when they who ar in Christ shalbe ever with him, not in a temporal but everlasting glorie. And seing the Apostle speakes both there and heer of the same resurrection, certainly he speakes not here of a resurrection before that tyme of the general judgement. 2. page 49 after the wordes of Paul, at his coming; Mr Matoun inserteth, and not the Martyres only. Why inserteth he these wordes? doeth any (who denyeth this earthly monarchie) say, that the Martyres and no moe shall come with Christ? no, but some Millenaries say so? & here he wold marke a word aganst them. Be it so, 3 he wresteth the wordes thus; Then comes the end (what presently after his coming? no. but) when he hath delivered up the kingdome to God, & on the Father: & when shal that bee,

When he shall have put down all rule and authoritie and power, &c. Here in stead of explication is a verie contradiction of the texte by inserting a negative, and conueying it closely with a querie: the particle Then hes a relation to the wordes preceding, and the word Comes is not in the original, as yee may see by the diuerse characters in the translation, and it may allweel be rendered Then or at that tyme is the end, when he shall have delivered up, &c. so that the verie tyme when he shall deliver the kingdom, is when they who ar Christs shall rise at his coming: and therfor ther shalbe no notable distance of time twixt the resurrection and the general iudgement. and consequently these wordes of Paul doe clearly prove, that the reigne of Christ as God-man doeth not beginne after his nixt coming, nor can (without contradiction unto the Apostle) any notable space of time be betwixt his nixt coming and the last subduing of all thinges. The 25 verse proveth the same: for when it is sayd, For he must reigne till he hes put all his enemies under his feet; thert y is taught (more clearly in the original language) that now he reigneth and continewes reigning, and consequently he is not to beginne his reigne, (even as it is sayd Heb. 2. 8. Thou hast put all thing under his feet) and when they who ar in Christ shalbe made alive, death the last enemy shalbe destroyed, and then is the end of administration. *Inst. 6. Betwixt the time that now is and his kingdom; our Saviour hes put an irreconcilable distinction; calling this the tyme, not of a kingdom bot of tentation, that is, of persecution for righteousnesse.* *Ans.* What God by his word and experience hes conjoined, let no man call irreconcilable: for he sayth Psa. 110. 2. reigne thou in the midst of thy enemies: and Rom. 8. 37. in all these thinges (that is in the midst of our sufferings) we ar more than conquerours. So that when the enemies doe rage and persecute, even then doeth Christ reigne, and the godly ar kinges, or if there be any title more transcendent. *Inst. 7. And shall not their bodies asweell reigne with Christ, as their soules? bot these (we knowe) ar and shalbe yet captives to the grave.* *Ans.* When Christ shall come, the last enemy shalbe destroyed, and the bodies (and not the soules, which die

die not) shalbe made alive, and both shalbe with him for ever.
Inst. 8. *As the saines that shalbe found alive at Christs coming, exempted from his coming? for if he should reigne then, and then give up his kingdome to his Father, they are exempted.* Ans. He is king till then, and governeth all who are and shalbe; and when he shall come, they who shalbe found alive, shalbe caught up to meet him. And because the clearing of this point may serve for clearing the whole matter, I adde by way of explication; As the sin of Adam was committed against God the Father, and his revolting or apostasie was a diminution of the Fathers kingdome, so the bringing of the faithfull into his obedience is the rendring of that kingdome. It is true, the offence was against the Sone and H. spirit; but the work of creation being the work of the Father in a special manner (as it is intimate in the Creede) the sin was directly against the first persone: When obedience was not given, the Father might have executed his justice on the offenders, as he did on the Angeles. Now as when a part of an earthly kingdome rebelleth against the king directly, and indirectly against his sone as a friend and heir of his fathers croon: the sone may undertake to regaine the rebelles unto his father, and the father may be well pleased to committe unto his sone that parte of the kingdome for that effect with full power: which the sone acceptes, and reigneth and prevayles powerfully, so that, albeit the archtraitour ganestand in malice to the honour of the king and his sone, yet many of the rebelles are reconciled with the king, who by this meanes regaineth his kingdome: So the Sone of God hes undertaken for so many as it pleased him, and beseeches men to be reconciled with the king of heaven and earth; shewing that he hes appeased the Fathers wrath, and hes power to receive into, and exclude from the kingdome of heaven: which power he hes received of the Father: and he shewes that ther is a tyme determined for receiving men into grace again; so that if that time shall expire, ther is no more grace to be shewed unto any: Satan envyyeth the glorie of God and mans reconciliation and therfor opposeth by deceiving some, and vexing others who hearken unto the word of reconciliation: nevertheless Christ

prevaileth by his preaching, so that a great many repent and crave mercie, and others not: when the determined time comes, these who have been received into mercie are presented unto God the Father, and as if they had not rebelled, he acceptes them into his kingdome: when the Sone sayth, Here I am and these whom I have brought into acknowledge ment of their offenses; I have satisfied Justice for them, Thou O Father hast thy own subjectes, and let them have the kingdome prepared for them; The Father will not say, Thy reward is not in heaven but on earth: therfor let them goe again unto the earth, and inherite glorie there for 1000 yeers: Bot receives them into the inheritance reserved for them in the heavens.

Pag. 50. Of this kingdome also speakes Sa. Peter Act. 3. 19. 20. 21. Wber if by the time of refreshing and restitution of all thing, nought els be meained, bot the Jewes inhabiting again of their own land, and the bringing of all other nationes into subjection to them, then it is evident that Christs coming at this time, (shalbe to accomplish this thing to Israel, and consequently to receive his appointed kingdome: bot that these wordes can have no other meaning, a small acquaintance with the Prophetes will informe yow: who as they speak of nothing more, so they have nothing which can be applied to our Saviours second coming, as a comfortable effect so generally forestewne, but this. Ans. I am sure, No man can imagine, that these wordes in themselves importe, that our Saviour shall reigne among the Jewes as an earthly monarch: which is the pointe pag. 45, and therfor this, if by the time, &c. is as if one wold say, It I be a king, I am a king. 2. that the Prophetes have another meaning, may be seen by all the Interpreters, and partly by that is sayd here. 3. it is a wonder, if any Jew will say, that the Prophetes speak of nothing more: for if his meaning be, They speak not more of any other thing, it is questionable seeing ther is much spoken of Gods preceptes: Bot if he doe meane (as it seemes) that they speak not of any other thing that can be applied unto our Saviours coming, I will cite one Prophet for all Daniel 12. 1. 2; wher

is mention of the great Prince, of great trouble even to the time of deliverance, and then awaking of some (not for a space of time, but) to everlasting life, and of others (at the same time) unto shame and everlasting contempt. And is not this a more comfortable effect for the we generally unto everie one, that shalbe found written in the book? Now the cause, why the Prophetes write so much of Ierusalem and that Kingdome to be restored, was, that the godly hearing of the destruction of that kingdome, did greatly fear, that that commonwealth should never be restored, wherein Christ our Saviour was to be borne and performe the work of redemption: we may justly think, that their fear was not so much the want of bodily libertie, as the not coming of our Saviour: and therfor the Prophetes insist much upon that pointe for the comfort of the godly, that howsoever that kingdome shalbe ruined, yet it shalbe restored, and all nationes shall by the preaching of Jewes come into the obedience of Christ, and so receive lawes from the Jewes, as being captives unto them, whose captives they might be for a time. But to imagine that the faithfull did expect, and the Prophetes did speak of no other thing, but this earthly Monarchie, is too grosse, and directly contradicting the Apostles bearing another testimonie of them, Hebr. 11. 16, they desire a better countrey, that is, heaven: and 1 Pet. 1. 9. 10, receiving the end of your faith, even the salvation of your soules, of which salvation the Prophetes have enquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you, &c.

Pag. eadem. And here we may call to minde our Saviours wordes to James and John, when they requeste that one might sit on his right hand, &c. Ans. We may call to minde too his wordes, Yee knowe not, what yee ask, Math. 20. 22, and the wordes of the Euangelist, vers. 24. when the ten heard it, they were moved with indignation against the Brethren. Which wordes shew, that howbeit Christ had spoken of his Kingdome, yet at that tyme James and

and Iohn wer both ignorant and ambitious. *Inst.* But his wordes following doe intimate, that his kingdome is to be held on earth, where only this may be fulfilled: for in heaven it can not be done, unlesse we will grant, that other men shalbe as highly exalted, as our Saviour is, *Ans.* 1. Albeit never one shall sit on his right hand nor his left, yet nothing in these wordes is for this purpose, seing he sayth not there, that any shall sit, but only, To sit on my right hand -- is not myne to give. 2. *Mat.* 19. 28. he speakes of sitting on the throne of his glorie (which must be in heaven, seing he speakes absolutely, and his glorie is greater in heaven, than can be on an earthly throne) and he sayth unto his disciples, When he shall sit on that throne, yee who have followed mee in the regeneration, shall sit upon 12 thrones: And may not some of these thrones be on his right hand, and some on his left hand? I enquire not now, what these thrones may bee, but there yee see multitude of thrones in glorie, as kinges in their State may have thrones for their greatest Peeres. *Inst.* 2. To sit on a throne is to sit at the right of God: which is a prerogative peculiar to the Sonne alone, which the chiefest of the anges never enjoyed: for to which of the angels sayd be at any tyme, Sit on my right hand? *Ans.* Christ sitting on a throne sits on the right hand of God: but to speak absolutely, To sit on a throne in heaven, is not to sit on the right hand of God, no more than any Prince is advanced to the right hand of a king, albeit he sit on a throne, and inferiour to the king and his eldest sone.

Pag. 51. The Apostles wordes *2 Tim.* 4. 1, may not be forgotten, I charge thee before God and the Lord Iesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing and his kingdome. Why should Christs appearing and kingdome be joynd together; yea why should his kingdome be added as the end of his appearing, unlesse both wer to contemporale? unlesse his kingdome wer to beginne at his appearing, and not before it? *Ans.* The mentioning of these two together and in that order doeth no more importe such a beginning, than the end of glorie is the beginning of vertue, because the Apostle sayth in the same order, he hes called us unto glorie and vertue *1 Pet.* 1. 3: howbeit glorie be named before vertue, glorie is after

after vertue. *Pag. ead.* And in my seeming that propheticall image Dan. 2. 31, which representeth both the orderly succession and diverse condition of all the then following kingdomes of this world, unto the kingdome of Christ (shadowed there unto us by the stone that was cut out without handes) doeth give good light unto this of Saint Paul: for in what maner these kingdomes have succeeded each other, in lyk maner is the kingdome of Christ to succeed them, as appears by the same phrase of speech, which is attributed as well to the setting up of this kingdome, as to any of them, to wit, that it shall break in peeces and consume all these kingdomes. *Ans.* In the seeming of many millions that image doeth not signifie a temporal monarchie of the Jewes, which is the point in hand: and the seeming of so many, contrarie to the seeming of one, might satisfy for all that long discourse following: nevertheles I adde, albeit these four kingdomes did succed one another, yet the kingdome of Christ did not succeed or was the last of them, or after them in time: for it is written v. 41, In the dayes of these kinges [not after them] shall the God of heaven set up a kingdome, which shall never be destroyed, and it shall break in peeces the iron, the brasie, the clay, silver and the gold. It shall break the silver and the gold; then it shall be before the brasie and the irone. And of what king can that be understood, but of Christ, who sayth Esa. 10. 12, I will punish the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and c. 37. 29, because thy rage against mee-- I will put my hook in thy nose, &c. 2. Whereas it is alledged that the 35 verse does fully declare that succession in time and place, certainly the 35 verse is not contrarie to the 44 verse, which shewes plainly, that this kingdome shall be in the dayes of these kinges, and breake them in peeces: and therfor these wordes Shall break them in peeces, signify a conquest by power, but nether by succession in tyme nor by force of armes. *Inst.* The falling of the stone upon the feet of the image, upon the last and divided kingdomes of the irone empire, does probably imply no lesse. *Ans.* The dream implyeth nothing contrarie to the exposition: and therfor leave probabilities that are contrarie to certainties. *Inst.* 2. If the kingdome of God there spoken of, were to be understood of a kingdome, which should be so set up in the dayes of these kinges

kinges--then doubtlesse it should be represented by some part of the image it self-- and not by a thing so different from it, and aduerse unto it.

Ans. 1. Then teach God, how he should revele his will. 2. it is reveled in expresse wordes v.44. 3.ther wes reason to expresse it by a different thing, becaule the four wer of one qualitie, and this wes of another qualitie: My kingdome (sayth he) is not of this world Joh. 18 36: it is more wonderfull, more powerfull and more general than any of them, and all the kinges who will not serve this king shall perish, he shall break them with a rode of irone Ps. 149.8, he shall strike them thorow in his wrath, Psal. 110. 5, and bind them with chaines, and their nobles with fetters of iron Ps. 149. 8. Inst. 3. And that nought els is meand by the world to come Heb. 2. 5, but the kingdome of our Saviour, it is evident by the authoritie there alledged out of Ps.8. Ans. None denieth it. Inst. 4. If ther be yet a world, which is yet to be put in subjection unto Christ as man, then it must be a distinct world from that in which as man he shall give up the kingdome to his Father. Ans. The kingdome of the world, wherof the Apottle speakes there, wes then to come, not in respect of Christ, but of the Apottle: for he meaneth the kingdom of heaven, as appeares by these wordes [wherof we speak], which have relation of the wordes preceding v. 3, If wee neglect so great salvation: Where he opponeth the euangelical promises unto the typical promises: these wes an earthly Canaan, and this is heaven. Christ at the time of writing this epistle wes in possession of it, and the Apottle did then hope for the house not made with handes, eternal in heaven 1 Cor. 5. 1: and therfor that world is not a distinct world, but even the same in which as Mediatour he shal give up the kingdom to the Father. Inst. 5. That which is given up, is alreadie past. Ans. That which shalbe given is not past as yet: neither shall it be given up altogether, but in some maner, as the Millenaries acknowledge, it shalbe at the end of their 1000. years. Inst. 6. It is nowher sayd, that the new Ierusalem, the citie of eternall glorie shalbe subject to Christ as a creature, but that he as a creature shall (after the judgement of the dead) be there subject to the Father. Ans. He as God-man sayth Mat. 28. To mee is given all power

power in heaven and on earth. And thus all the consequences for proving the earthly monarchie of the Iewes ar naught.

*Page 45. You shall hear it directly and expressly affirmed Luk. 1. 31. 32. 33. Jer. 23. 5. 6. Zach. 6. 12. 13. Ezek. 34. 22. 23. 24. and 6. 37. 24. 25. Esa. 9. 6. 7. and 52. 13. 14. 15. Mic. 4. 6. 7. Pj. 72. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. and 102. 13. 14. 15. 16. Now that these prophecies concerne the reigne of Christ alone, I think no man doubteth; and that they ar already fulfilled, it can not be proved. Ans. These textes may prove some thing against your fellow Mr. Archer, who thinks, that Christ after he hes put the Iewes in possession of their Monarchie, shal ascend again into the heavens, & Iewes in the mean tyme shall reigne till his thrid coming: But they prove nothing against us, who hold, that Christ reigneth on the true throne of David. *Inst. Neither did Christ at his first coming sit on Davids throne, nor any other of Davids lineage -- for the scepter wes departed.* Ans. He sates on the right hand of the throne of Majestie in heaven Heb. 8. 1 which wes typified by the throne of David. *Inst. 2. Neither wer Judah and Israel then in the land together.* Ans. Ther is neither Iew nor Griek, neither bond nor fre, neither male nor female, but we ar all one in Christ Iesus: and if ye be Christs, then ar yee Abrahamis seed & heires according to the promise Gal. 3. 28. *Inst. 3. Neither wes the temple then destroyed, bot afterwards.* Ans. Christ sayd, destroy this temple, and in thrie dayes I will raise it up again: Then sayd the Iews, Fourty & six yeers wes this temple in building, and will thou reare it up again in thrie dayes? but he spak of the temple of his bodie, sayth the Euang. Ioh. 2. 19. So the true temple is Christs bodie, which the Iewes destroyed, and he raised it up again: and in this sense the disciples did believe the Scriptures after the resurrection of Christ v. 22. And therfor the things spoken in these Scriptures ar accomplished at his first coming not only in heaven bot on earth according to the different portiones therof; In heaven and on earth, I say, and in true Ierusalem and on the true throne of David: for his feet stood in that day [towit, when he went to receive the fuller accomplishment of his kingdome] on the mount of Olives, which is by Ierusalem on the east [from which also he ascended] and the mount of Olives hes been cloven in the midst therof*

toward the east and toward the west [when not only the members of the church, but all the world wes shaken at the powerfull preaching of the gospell, (even more gloriously than at the giving of the lawe, Heb. 12. 26) so that nothing could hinder the course therof] and the Iews have fled to that valey of the mountaines [when they did embrace the gospell, which is lowe in worldly mens estimation, and of high esteeme before God] and the valey of the mountaines hes reached unto Azal [for the preaching of the gospell hes been an excellent stone-mark shewing the richt way, (as it is exponed 1 Sam. 20. 19, on the margine of the late translatione) to the kingdom of heaven] yea they have fled lyk as they did flee from before the earthquake in the dayes of Vzzia king of Iudah [towit, they have been astonished at the wonderfulnesse of Gods workes] and the Lord hes come; and so furth as it followes in Zach. 14. wher he shewes the perpetual light of the glorious gospell v. 6. 7, and the continuall flowing of wholsome waters in the kingdom of Christ v. 9. 8, and the removing of all impedimentes for the securitie of the electes conversion and salvation v. 10. 11. Yow see here, that our Saviour came not only to conquer death (which is the last enemy that he shall destroy, and therfor not to be destroyed till the last resurrection) but also to tak the kingdomes of the world unto himself, and hes made them all acknowledge his authoritie, and hes put down all contrarie power and authoritie (for all nationes have praysed Christ, and given laude unto him Rom. 14. 9. 10. 11.) that ther is one shepheard and one sheepsfold, that the dominiones, kingdomes and greatnesse of the kingdomes under the whol heaven have been possessed by the people and saintes of the most high, that is, (as the gospell hes exponed it) by the faithfull Israel Rom. 14. 12, howbeit all hes not been possessed at the same periode of tyme.

Page 58. This, as I think, is the tyme of which he spak these wordes, Verily I say unto yow, Heerafter shall yow see the heavens open, and the angels ascending and descending upon the Sone of man.
 Ans. That these wordes shalbe fulfilled or have been fulfilled, it is most certane; and it is als certane, that they shall never be fulfilled.

filled in the proper acceptation of the words, seeing the bodie of Christ is not so tale, as that it shal reach from heaven to earth: for this cause some (as Cyrill on this place) have expounded *unto* for *upon* in this sense, as if the heavens wer open, the angels shall come down and ascend unto my service: so doeth Chrysostome apply these wordes to the angels ministring unto Christ in tyme of his passion and resurrection. Others think it to be an exposition of that vision of Iacob Gen. 28, wherby wes signified, that Christ is the Mediatour making way twixt heaven and earth Col. 1. 10: and these expositiones (for the mater) doe aggrie with other Scriptures. *Inst. That this may be fulfilled, it is requisite, that he be on earth, whither these messengers may descend unto him, and from whence again they may ascend. Which argues too his continuance heer for a greater space of tyme, than the judgement of the dead requires.* Ans. A poor proof: for as it is requisite, that he be on earth, whither that these messengers may descend unto him, so I may say, it is requisite, that he be in heaven whence they may descend on him, and whither they may ascend to him: and so taking the wordes in that sense, they may be fulfilled, albeit he never wer on earth; even as they may be fulfilled when he is on earth and not in heaven: but according to the first exposition he wes on earth, when they wer fulfilled, farlesse is his continuance on earth necessarie for these wordes.

Pag. ead. Although it be sayd, that Christ shall reigne over the house of Iacob for ever, and that of his kingdome shalbe no end, yet it is not meant, that he shall alwayes reigne as man, or that the earthly Jerusalem, the place of his throne as man, shall alwayes stand. Ans. They will change the signification of the wordes, when they please, and so far as it makes for their purpose, and no more: but when they shall prove by Scripture, that the earthly Jerusalem shalbe the place of Christs throne, we may aggrie on the exposition of the words for ever, and shalbe no end: and till that be shewen, I omitte further enquirie of them: but as yet we have seen nether necessarie consequence nor evident expression for it, Followes another point, that the restauration of Jerusalem and resurrection shall concur.

Pag. 6. Now see that when our Saviour comes to reigne over all the earth, he comes not alone, but bringes all the saintes with him. Anſ. Wee see nether that he shall come to reigne (after that manner) over all the earth; nether that he shall bring all his saintes with him, and for this last point he alledges no text of Scripture, but will have it to be taken on his bare word: which we refuse to doe, Wee read, that when he shall come to judge, he shall bring all the holy angels with him Mat. 25. 31, and all nationes shall be gathered before him, and that he shall send his angels to gather the elect from the four windes: but that they shall come with him into an earthly monarchie, we find no wher. And nevertheles as if it wer unquestionable, he addeth; Which wordes as they doe establish, the lidenal sense of the first resurrection mentionet Rev. 20, so they make the kingdome of Israel and the 1000 yeers reigne of the saintes to synchronize and meet together for why shall the saintes come with him, but because they have a share in this kingdome, and ar to be his assistentes in it, as he told his Disciples? Anſ. The first resurrection of bodies importeth a second resurrection; and so either these who ryse shall die again, and rise again at the second resurrection; or they who shall rise at the first shall not die at all, and others shall rise again at the second resurrection. This Authour makes it so wher manifest, which of these two he holdeth, and Mr. Archer holdeth the first opinion: but neither of them hes any warrant from Scripture, and the testimonies that ar cited here on the margine, shew that ther shall not be such a resurrection of the richreous: for it is sayd Luk. 20. 35, they who shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world and the resurrection from the dead nether marrie nor ar given in marriage, nether can they die any more, for they ar equal unto the Angels, being the children of the resurrection. If they can die no more, and be equal unto the Angels, then they shall not rise at a second resurrection, nether shall they live an earthly lyf, which in the best degrie is inferiour unto the lyf of the Angels. Ioh. 6, 39 This is the Fathers will, that of all that he hes given mee, I should lose nothing, but should raise it up at the last day; and v. 44. No man can come unto mee, except the Father who hes sent mee, draw him, and I will

will raise him at the last day. If the last day be the day of the generall judgement (as certainly it is, even supponing the temporal Monarchie for 1000 yeeres) and the elect shal not be raised til the last day (as these wordes imply) then ther shall not be a first & second resurrection, unles the second resurrection be after the last day: and consequently, ther not being a resurrection of the children of God till the last day, the first resurrection mentioned Rev. 20 can not be understood of the bodies, but rather a rising from sin, wherof mention is made Eph. 5. 14 and Col. 3. 1. He cites also Phil. 3. 11 If by any meanes I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead. These wordes name the dead generally, and make nothing for a first and second resurrection: but v. 20 it is sayd, Our conversation or freedome is in heaven, whence also we look for the Saviour, who shall change our vile bodie, that it may be lyke unto his glorious bodie. If the freedome [POLITT VMA] of the godly be in heaven, then they expect not a Monarchie on earth; and if the bodies shalbe lyke unto his glorious bodie, they shall not live an earthly lyf nor die again. He quoteth, 1 Thess. 3. 13 and c. 4. 14, &c. but the first hes nothing of a second resurrection, and c. 4. 14 sayth, Wee shalbe ever with the Lord, to wit, in another maner than nou; nou by grace, and then in glorie. If we shalbe ever with the Lord, then we shall not die again and rise again, unlesse the Lord die too: which, I think, they will not say. Lastly he cites Ezek. 37. 12, 13, which wordes certainly ar allegoricall, and shew the returne of the Jewes from their captivitie, not withstanding the extremitie of their miserie, and after these wordes he takes occasion to speak of the spiritual kingdom of the Church, as is sayd before: but nether first nor last speakes the Prophet of a first and second resurrection at or about the last day. And so in all these testimonies nothing is to this purpose of the concurring of the Jewish Monarchie with the first resurrection. *Inst.* The elders Rev. 5. 10 sayd in the bearing of Saint Iohn, Thou hast made us unto God kinges and priestes, and we shall reigne on earth: And on the margine he cites Rom. 4. 13 Luk. 19. 17, 19.

Ans.

Ans. That these wordes Rev. 5. 10. signifie the honour and priuiledges of the godly on earth; it is out of doubt: but the question is, whether Iohn sawe these elders in heaven, and whither they shall come from the heaven to the earth again; or whether Iohn signifyeth by them the godly on earth? If these wordes make any thing for this purpose, these elders wer in heaven: but all the Interpreters (even the Authour of Commentar. Apocalyp. pag. 8.) expone them to be the godly on earth. The wordes Rom. 4. 13, ar, The promise that he should be the heir of the world, was not to Abraham and to his seed through the lawe, but through the richteousnesse of faith: Certainly albeit the land of Canaan was promised to Abraham and his seed, yet he (never having possession of that land) and his seed or the faithfull ar more properly called the heires of eternal lyf Tit. 3. 7, and heires of that kingdome, which he hes promised unto them that love him, Jam. 2. 5, and heires of God and joint-heires with Christ Rom. 8. 17: which kingdome was typified by Canaan: and of this promise without doubt speakes Paul there, The wordes of Luk 19. 17. 19. ar a part of a parable, and we knowe, that everie part of parables is not argumentative. These textes then serve nothing for this Monarchie. On the margine is cited also a testimonie of Windelin: but we regard not the testimonie of parties in their own cause, (and far lesse doe we regard the consequences of that testimonie, wherwith the nixt page is filled, and with that question of the essential or accidental change of the elementes) seeing for one we may bring 5000 testimonies in this purpose.

Pag. 62. This will appear to a diligent ey out of the controverted place Rev. 20. for besides, that the opposition betwixt the first and the second resurrection, doeth impose the same sense on both; besides this (I say) the vision represented not unto Saint Iohn perfect men at the first, that is, men that should be beheaded for the witnesse of Iesu, but soules only, and that as of men already beheaded: which manifestly shewes, that the resurrection after mentioned, did follow their death, and not goe before it. Ans. This forme of discoursing shewes manifestly that the Authour is a strange wrangler: for 1. ther is no more opposition

opposition nor aggriment twixt the first and the second resurrection, than is twixt the first and the second death : but none will say, that the first and second deaths ar in alyke sort bodily: and therfor ther is no necessitie to expone the first and second resurrectiones in the same sense. 2. what perfection of witt is it to imagine, that men who shalbe beheaded for the witnesse of Iesus ar more perfyte than the soules of them that ar beheaded? 3. if by these soules he understandes the spiritual part of men ere they wer made perfyte, then he must understand the soules ether before they entred into the bodies, or after they entred the bodies before their regeneration : but both these conditiones ar before the first resurrection. 4. if the first resurrection be their forsaking of Antichristian errorres or (as it is sayd there) their not worshipping the beast, and their not receiving the beastes marke (as all Interpretors, excep Millenaries expone it) then the first resurrection followes not their death, but goes before it.

Inst. It is sayd, that they lived and reigned with Christ 1000 years: but how can it be, that they should reigne after their resurrection or begin their resurrection all at once, or continow it but 1000 years (which thing these wordes imply) if by their resurrection should be understood their regeneration, and by their reigne their being in heaven; or if by the word, they lived, should be meant only They wer converted; how can they reigne so long as 1000 yeers, seeing the place of their reigne must be on earth? *Ans.* It by their living and resurrection be meant their constant profession (as is sayd) and by their reigne their prevailling over these heresies, all these mistes ar soon scattered; towit, they reigne before their death and not after their resurrection; they began their reigne not all at once, but in their severall ages (even as the Millenaries doe imagine, that the saintes in that conceited monarchie shall not live all at once, but in their severall ages die again, and succeed one age to another for the space of 1000 yeers) and so they reigne not everie one throughout the 1000 yeers, and so long space have ever some opposed the errorres of the beast: and they reigning on earth have been encompassed with warre again, as it wes foretold, and Ecclesiastical Histories declare.

H.

I. B.

*Inst. 2. The reigne of Christ doeth not beginne, till Antichrist is destroyed, so that a metaphoricall interpretation of the first resurrection wold make good this conclusion, that most of the saintes shall rise many 100 years before their reigne, ther being no lesse distance of time betwixt the houre of their calling and Antichrists confusion. Ans. I have before made it clear, that Christs kingdome is already begun: for he reigneth in the midst of his enemies, not only by his power overruling, disappointing and turning all their plotes upon their own pates, but also in comforting the heartes of the godly, so that they ar a terrour to the whol earth, even to their enemies (who at many tymes more afrayed at the prayers of the godly, than at the cannones of other enemies) and subdue the spirites of the world, and bind kinges in chaines stronger than iron: And therfor that assertion falleth, The reigne of Christ beginneth not till Antichrist be destroyed: and that absurditie following that assertion is falsely imputed unto that interpretation. *Inst. 3. The assumption* [he wold say, assertion; but it is marked before, the Authour is not a Logician] *is grounded on Rev. 11. 15, which shewes that till the time of the sevent trumpet (with the beginning wherof the last vial does concurre) the kingdomes of this world doe not become the kingdomes of our Lord and of his Christ. Ans. The wordes ar, The kingdomes of the world ar become the kingdomes of our Lord and of his Christ. Here it is not sayd, Our Lord and his Christ shall not reigne till this time; bot this is all that the wordes importe, Now is no kingdome but our Lord's and his Christ's. And if it be objected, It is no wher sayd so of Christ's reigne till this tyme of the sevent trumpet: and therfor it can not be true, that our Lord and his Christ doe reigne till then; I answer, yee have heard before, that in the midst of these kingdomes doeth Christ reigne, even among them and over them, but all their kingdomes shalbe utterly destroyed, and his kingdome shalbe for ever; for ever and ever, sayth John, and therfor not for 1000 years only. 2. That synchronisme of the seven viales with the last trumpet is confuted before. Now if we lay together what is sayd of the Jewes reigne here, and this answer, we shall lykwys see the**

vanitie

vanitie of that observation on the margine upon these cited wordes; which is; It is not sayd, the kingdome of heaven, to wit, of the third heaven — or of another world, I say, of another in substance, but, the kingdomes of this world, that is, which is now, and shall till then be divided into many kingdomes, shall wholly become Christs, and be made by him one heavenly kingdome, &c. For if yee remember what is sayd, that here John speakes of the kingdom of our Lord and his Christ; he speakes not of the kingdom of the Jewes on earth: seeing he makes a distinction of two persones our Lord and his Christs, that is, the Father and his Sone, and that kingdome is for ever and ever. *Inst. 4.* This also is intimated by the binding of Satan 1000 years (with which the reigne of the saintes comtemporates.) *Ans.* He sayd before, This chapter is controverted, (to wit, by the Millenaries on the one part, and all Christianses on the other) and now he sayth, This his conceit is intimated in the binding of Satan: which is as if he had sayd, It is all undoubted what he sayth, and all is false that all Christianses say; whereas Christianses have given better warrantes of their exposition, than Millenaries are able to doe. *Inst. 5.* This vision as it is next to that of the battle, wherein the beast and the false Prophet are taken, so doubtlesse it shall not till then receive its accomplishment: for seeing Antichrist is but the Devils instrument, we can not imagine that his power shall outlast the Devils libertie, especially if we consider that whil Satan is in hold, ther shalbe a general peace over all the world, as the Prophetes say expressly, *Esaia. 2. 4. Mich. 4. 3.* and as it is here impliyed in that as soon as he is loosed again, prestly he shall gather all the rest of the world to fight against the saintes: but their malicious attempts shall find no better successe, than that of the beasts, &c.

Ans. This vision is next to that battle in order of writing: but it followes not, that it shall not begin to be accomplished, till the former vision be fully accomplished: for albeit Antichrist be the Devils instrument, it may be understood (as Histories doe verifie) that his power may bee

in the tyme of Satans imprisonment, that is, whil Satan is not permitted to rage and persecute openly, as he did in the dayes of the heathnish emperomes, in the mean tyme Antichrist may site in the Church of God, and deceive the world with lies and fained miracles; so that even when peace is in the world from warres, ther be not peace from the children within (as Bernard complaines in his time in Cantic. ser. 33.) and wen he hes deceived the greatest part of the world or all the world (except some few persones in comparison of them, who ar deceived) then Satan may stirre up Antichrist to wage warre aganst the disclofers of his deceites, as he did aganst the Albigenies and Tolosani about the yeer 1220, and aganst the Bohemianes about the yeer 1420, in the dayes of the Emperoures Sigismund, Albert and others: and so the malicious attempt of Satan may have the same successe with that of the beast; I say not, the lyke, but, the same both in place, time and number. And here adde, that the fyft synchronisme in the second part of Clavis Apocalyptica is false, which sayth, The 1000 yeers of Christs kingdome, and the last trumpet or space after the slaughter of the beast doe contemporate: and the reasounes therof ar wrong: for 1. he sayth, doe not these wordes *qui non adoraverant bestiam* — shew, that this kingdome of Christ did succeed unto the kingdom of the beast, his image and them that wer marked with his marke? for why should it be sayd of the sones of that kingdome, that they had not worshipped the beaste unles the beast had gone before? and truely the good office goeth before the reward in tyme. Ans. 1. Our former translation is more consonante unto the Griek, which sayth, They did not worship the beast: which is not the plusquamperfect tyme, but so, that at the same tyme the beast is deceiving the world, and the children of God doe not worship the beast. 2. the reward of them, who worship not the beast is in heaven, and they follow the Lambe whithersoever he goeth. Reas. 2. This appeares yet more by the song of the elders and beastes sung at the destruction of Babylon c. 19. 6. Haleluiah, for the Lord God almightie reigneth, &c. for I dout but ther is one kingdome in both, Ans. When the Bohemianes sawe the armies of

of the pope and the Emperoures, turning their backs at the touch of Zisca's drumme, had they not just reason to sing, Halleluiah: for the Lord God almightie reigneth, let us reioice, &c. And so may the godly at everie victorie over the popish armies, even before the resurrection. Reas. 3. but most of all clearly in c. 11. 15. 16, wher at the sound of the severn trumpet, the dayes of the witnesses and the monethes of the beast and nations being outrunne, wer great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdomes of this world ar become the kingdomes of the Lord, &c. This is the consummation of the mysterie of God foretold by the Prophetes, &c. Ans. This indeed is the consummation of all the promises foretold by the Prophetes and Apostles: and therfor it is not to be understood of any earthly kingdome: seing the full accomplishment of the prophecies is not on earth. And so this synchronisme being false, all the lyke synchronismes and all expositiones following upon them must faile with it. But to returne unto our authour, when he hes sayd all that he can alledge, at least, all his strongest proofes; he will resolve the doubts aganst his conceites; and me hopefully, with no better successe.

Pag. 64. Now aganst this which hes been sayd touching our Saviours kingdome, his own wordes Ioh. 18. 35, may be objected: for there he sayth plainly, My kingdome is not of this world. And Mat. 25. 31, he sayth, When the Sonne of man shall come in his glorie -- With which aggrieth that of 2 Pet. 3. 7, but the heavens and the earth that ar now, &c. and many other places of the lyke nature. But to these wordes of our Saviour I answer, They doe only distinguish the time and condition of his kingdome from the time and conditione of the kingdomes of this world, at the setting up of whose kingdome ther shalbe such an alteration, &c. Ans. Our Saviour distinguishes not betwixt the time of his and other kingdomes: for he sayth in the same verse, My kingdome is not from hence, that is, my kingdome is at hand, as he sayd unto his disciples, Mat. 15. 28. Verily I say unto you, ther be some standing here, who shal not taste of death till they have seene the Sone of man come in his kingdome, that is, reigning powerfully by the preaching of the gospel: and

Mat. 24. 14, this Gospell of the kingdome shalbe preached in all the world for a witnes unto all nationes, and then shall the end come. There is his kingdome before the end of this world; and now is the time of his reigne, albeit no humane policie be the paterne therof. 2. if he had sayd to that purpose (as the Millenaries say) that in tyme of his kingdome (being so nigh) the kingdome of the Romanes should be no kingdome, they might haue more pretext of lawe for condemning him: wherefor he distinguishes the condition of the kingdomes, and not the time of them; so that Cæsar might be an Emperour, and Christ a mighty king, both at once. *Non eripit mortalia, qui regna dat cœlestia.*

Pag. 65. And to all such places that mention only the dissolution of the elements and the last judgement, I answer, that these are but a parte of these things, which shalbe done by Christ at his next appearing, and that as other Scriptures shew, that he must reigne on earth, and what shalbe done at the beginning of his reigne, so these shew only what shalbe left undone till the close of his kingdome, when he shall deliver it up. Ans. This shift will not serve their turne: for the Scriptures teach us, that at Christs coming shalbe the end, and he shall deliver up his kingdome 1 Cor. 15. 23. 24. 2. that he shall come in a time when men look not for him, and all shall rise again, both godly and ungodly, and then is the shutting of heaven, as the parable of the ten Virgines teaches, Mat. 25. 3. that wher he is, the faithfull then shall be with him, Ioh. 14. 3. 4. that the heavens must contene him till the time of the restitution of all things, which God has spoken by the mouth of all his Prophets since the world began: But the Prophetes have foretold the last judgement, and that he shall convince all the ungodly, Jude v. 14. 19. therfor he shall not returne till that tyme. And that is most plaine, Psalm. 110. 1, Sitte at my right hand till I make thy enemies thy footstoole: That sitting at Gods right hand is his reigning, and it is not sayd, His enemies shalbe subdued and then he shall reigne, but, he shall reigne till then; so that he reigneth conquering, and he conquereth reigning. 5, that his kingdom is an heavenly kingdome, 2 Ti-

mot. 4. 12, and the reward of the godly is in heaven, Mat. 5. 10. 11. as our Saviour spoke of it, and never of an earthly kingdom, unlesse by way of a version, Who made me a Judge? sayth he, Luk 12. 14. and the godly have prayed and wished to be with him in the heavens, and never prayed to reigne in his earthly kingdome, 2 Corint. 5. 1. 6. Phil. 1. 3. 6. that God has raised up Christ from the dead, and set him at his right hand in the heavens far above all principalitie and power and everie name that is named not only in this world, but also in that which is to come, and has put all thing under his feet, and gave him to be the head over all thinges. Whence it is manifest, that seing our Saviour governeth his Church, and all spirites are subject to him (which autoritie is given unto him, and so as God-man;) his kingdome is not to begin as yet, 7. that when Christ shall descend from heaven with a shoute and voice of the Archangel, with the trumpet of God, the dead in Christ shall rise first, and they who are alive and remaine shalbe caught up together with them in the cloudes, to meet the Lord in the aire, and so shalbe ever with the Lord, 1 Thess. 4. Here he is speaking of the same resurrection, wherof he speakes, 1 Corint. 15, as appears by the 52 verse: and here he shewes the rising of the dead and change of the living to be together, and that they both together shall meet the Lord, and be ever with him. And that the saintes being raised shall not abide on earth to reigne with the Jewes in earthly pleasures, it is manifest, because the Apostles teaches us, 1 Corint. 15. 42, they shall rise in incorruption, v. 43. in glorie and in power, v. 44. in spiritual bodies: and when Christ shall appear, we shall appeare with him in glorie, Col. 3. 4: but it is certaine, that incorruptible, glorious, powerfull & spiritual bodies can not live a natural lyf. Nether can the faith of Christianes, that Christ is come already, stand with that imagination of Jewes & Chilia-stes; seing Iacob sayd, The Scepter shal not depart from Iudah till Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people bee. This place can not be understood of the departing of the Scepter for a time, as it was in the captivitie of Babylon; which because it was but for a short tyme, and the Scepter was restored agine,

it was not thought to be the accomplishment of the prophetic: but now seeing the scepter is departed, and the nations have been gathered unto Christ, who should doubt of the accomplishment thereof? and so that scepter can not be restored unto the Jewes, 2 The Apostle sayth 1 Thess. 2. 6, wrath is come upon the Jewes to the uttermost. This is not understood of spiritual wrath, seeing as yet the Lord sheweth mercie upon them, as the Apostle witnesseth Rom. 11. 5. 28; and therefore it must be understood of temporal wrath: and consequently a temporal kingdome shall not be restored unto them. Likewise the estate of the Church is described such, that the godly shall be mixed with the ungodly even till Christ come, and gather the tares from the wheat to be burned, Mat. 13. 39. All these and like passages the Millenaries willingly passe over.

Pag. 66 In my conceit Saint Peter in the verie next verse does intimate as much; for having before used the word, day, he warneth them not to be ignorant of this one thing, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and 1000 years as one day, as if he had told them, that the day he speakes of was indeed a 1000 years -- And indeed to what purpose had this sudden and serious advertisement been inferred, if the Apostle had not thereby discovered unto them (beside the largest definite and limited acception of the word) such a (spiritual relation of 1000 years to one day, as could not belong to any other number? Ans. Whatsoever be your conceit, you may see, that the Apostle hath another purpose there: for v. 4 he telleth of scoffers jeering at the promise of Christs coming, because all things continue as they were, and so all things seem to have subsisting in themselves: he refuses this imagination, and shewes that the world both was made and continueth by the word of God, who is able to destroy (as sometime he did) and has appointed a day of judgement and perdition of ungodly men. Here he putteth the day of judgement and perdition of ungodly men, for that the scoffers say, Where is the promise of his coming? so that at his coming he will judge and punish the ungodly: which is contrarie to the opinion of the Millenaries, Then v. 8 he answereth to that opinion of delay, saying, One day is with the Lord as 1000 years:

He

He sayth not, One day is 1000 yeers (as the Millenaries make the commentarie shorter than the text) but, is as a 1000 yeers: and therfor here is no exposition, but comparifon, as if he had sayd, albeit a 1000 yeers seem a long tyme to us, and so the world seemeth to have continowed long, yet it is not so with the Lord, to whom all time is short or none. And then he shewes the end, why God delayeth that coming, towit, in long suffering toward men, awaiting the repentance of the last of them. Wherby yow see another meaning and another purpose, even contrarie to that conceit of the Millenaries. The Apostle might have named many milliones of yeers as one day in respect of Gods eternitie: but according to the usual custome of speech he nameth a round great number for any number. And nevertheles in the end of that page it is sayd; *This being so, I see not, but that Gods foreappointment of 1000 yeers to the world, for each severall day of its first week, might in all lyklyhood be the ground of this propheticall sense of the word, wherin it was afterwards delivered by the infallible penmen of the holy Write.* Ans. The certantie of all the appointmentes of God we acknowledge, and the infallibilitie of his penmen: but wher is it reveled, that God hes appointed 1000 yeers continuance to the world for each severall day of the first week? On the margine he citeth R. Ketina and Comment. Apoca. par. 2. p. 287, wher at some testimonies of the Rabbines to this purpose. Let Iewes follow Iewish fables; to us Christians hes God spoken in the last dayes by his Sone Heb. 1. 2, whom he hes bidden us here, certainly with a limitation, to hear none others. *Inst. It is sayd Mat. 24. 31, he shall send his Angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect — at which tyme two shalbe in the field, the one shalbe taken, and the other left — and Luk c. 17. 34, recordeth, two men shalbe in one bed — But if our Saviour at his coming presently shall give sentence on all that ar not written in the book of life; if he shall make no stay on earth, before he undertake this businesse, then why shall the elect only be gathered together, and the rest left behind, seeing that great Assise is to be held chiefly for condemnation of the ungodly men?* Ans. Here is nothing to prove the monarchie of the Iewes, 2. the two Euangelistes speak there
I of

of the gathering the elect, and taking them up (also 1 Cor. 15. 23.) yet they speak not exclusively, as if the ungodly shall not be judged nor raised, but they speak of separation, and thereby of taking up the elect into the aire and heavens; whereas the wicked shall not be taken up, but left on the earth, and be condemned and sent to hell, Mat. 13. 40. 41: and it followeth v. 43. then shall the righteous shine furth, &c. The particle then shewes that the wicked shall be cast into the furnace of fyre, as soone (if not sooner) as the righteous shall shine in the kingdome of their Father. 3. If the righteous shall be taken up, and the ungodly left on the earth; that is, the one taken away from the earth, and the wicked left on the earth; then the godly shall not have earthly dominion. 4. if Christ at his coming shall hold that great assise chiefly for condemnation of the wicked; how then shall the godly be quickned, and the wicked be left in their graves after them for the space of 1000 years? These things can not aggrieve. Now such suppositiones being layd, it is no wonder, that many doubts arise thereupon; as whether the good angels be able to gather the reprobates, or whether they shall be fetched by the wicked angels; and they shall be left either to perish in the general destruction that shall come upon the enemies of the Jewes, or ey-witnesses of Gods wonders. What can either good or evill angels doe without the Lords authoritie? and what can they not doe, when he willet? but certainly the wicked shall both be witnesses of Gods wonders, and likewise perish in that general destruction; that cause of their condemnation is touched before.

Fig. 67. For that by Christs judging the quick and the dead mentioned, 2 Timoth. 4. 1, can not be meant the last and compleat, but rather a former and inchoate judgement, it appeares out of Revel. 20. where it is shewen that the saintes enemies shall be slain before the last resurrection. And we can not say, that these who are to be left, shall be a part of that armie there spoken of, because that Gog and Magog is to be destroyed at the end of our Saviours reigne, that is, immediately before the last resurrection: whereas these shall be alive at the time of that general distresse, which shall light on the world at his

his entrance into that kingdome, as the gathering of the elect, who
 ar to reigne with him, doeth declare. Ans. Here (as before) ar
 strange imaginaciones; 1. that text 2 Timoth. 4. 1, can not be
 meant of the last, bot a former judgement. Who ever sayd be-
 fore, that Christ shall yet appear twyce to judge the quick and
 the dead? For suppose, that only the godly shalbe raised at
 Christs coming, yet they will not say, that he will judge them,
 seeing they say, that they shall not stand at the barre. 2. The
 judging of the quick and the dead shalbe before the tyme of
 the last resurrection, as that forme of arguing importes: wherby
 it followes, that Christ shall judge the quick and the dead in a
 former and inchoate judgement. Who shall remain then to be
 judged in the complete judgement at the last resurrection?
 3. I will say no more of that fancie concerning these that shalbe
 left, and the destruction at the entrance of that kingdom: but
 mark that Gog and Magog is to be destroyed at the end of
 our Saviours reigne, that is, immediatly before the last resur-
 rection, or (which is one) after the reigne of the Jewes. But
 that armie of Gog and Magog is the same with the armie men-
 tioned, Revel, 16. 14, as Napeir proveth Prop. 32. and Mr.
 Maton proveth in his treatise of Gog and Magog, pag. 49 95.
 and I have schewed before, that the sixt vial mentioned, Reve-
 lat, 16. 12. 13. 14, is the same with the sixt trumpet; yea, and
 Clavis Apocalyp. in par. 1. synchro. 7. makes it to concurre
 with the destruction of the beast and Babylon, which shalbe
 before the Monarchie of the Jewes, as all the Millenarie
 hold: and therfor in this point M. Maton is contrarie to hi-
 self, and to Clavis Apocalyp. asweel as unto Christines who
 denie that Monarchie of the Jewes. Wherby it is manifest,
 that what he speakes here without reason must be wrong,
 and amended by these reasones which he hath lo. cit. and
 consequently that great batle shalbe foughten not after, but be-
 fore the Jewes shall reigne, if ever they shall reigne in that
 maner.

Pag. 68. This conjecture Esaie c. 27. 12. 13. does conforme sufficiently: for the great sound of the trumpet before spoken of in Saint Math. as a warning for the gathering together of the elect, is there sayd to be a warning also of the Jewes returne. The wordes ar these; It shall come to passe in that day, that the Lord shall beat off from the chanel of the river unto the streame of Egypt, &c. Ans. If this be a conjecture, how is it sufficiently confirmed by the Prophet? or if it be sufficiently confirmed, why is it called a conjecture? A conjecture it is, and hes no warrant from the Prophet: for the Prophet and the Euangelist ar not speaking of the same purpose: the Prophet is speaking particularly of the Jewes deliverance out of Assyria and Egypt, and of the trumpet that did sound at the proclamation of Cyrus for their returne, which wes past before the dayes of the Euangelist. And neverthelesse our Authour concludeth triumphantly, saying, and thus being thorowly satisfied by this cloude of wienneses, the double jurie of Prophetes and Apostles, &c. Ans. If yow be thorowly satisfied, why have yow so oft used the wordes of probabilitie, conjectures, my conceit, it may be thus or thus? these wordes smell not of satisfaction, nor of that certane knowledge and steadfastnesse, which is required 2 Pet. 4. 17. As for that double jurie, it may evidently appeare that both Prophetes and Apostles ar contrarie to such fanfies. It may be, the Vses of this doctrine ac commendable, yes, if wrong premisses be powerfull to persuade. Neverthelesse heare all.

Pag. 69. First to praise God for his abundant mercie, who throghe the fall of the Jewes hath brought salvation unto us gentiles, that together with them we may partake of the roote and fatnesse of their olive tree. Ans. Whither is it more to the prayse of Gods mercie and bountifullnesse, that the godly shall come againe from the heavens to abide so long on earth; or to abide in that glorie of heaven for ever and ever? certainly the gift of the greater and interrupted glorie deserveth the greater praise, and whil they wer on earth, they professed themselves to be strangers from home, and Pilgrimes on their journie towards their home, Heb. 11. 13, and shall they come as Pilgrimes again? Ps 2. 10

beware

bewarre of unbelieff: which was the cause, that the Iewes wer broken off from their olive: and if God spared not the naturall branches, much lesse will he spare us, if &c. Ans. It is greater unbelieff to despise the reveled trueth of God, than to despise the fancies of men, as this monarchie is proved to be. *Vse 3. not to contemne or revile the Iewes; a fault too commune in the Christian world, &c.* Ans. Whither serveth more for to move us to love the Iewes, to knowe that the Iewes and gentiles ar one in Christ, whensoever they shalte converted; or to think, that the Iewes shall not be converted, till Christ come again, and then they shalbe Lordes over the gentiles 1000 yeers? The former doctrine presently throweth doun the partition-wall, and this opinion still holdeth it up, at least for 1000 yeers. *Vse 4. and lastly, earnestly to beseech God, that he would speedily putte into execution the meanes, which he hes appointed for their conversion, &c.* Ans. Whither can these more confidently beseech God for the conversion of the Iewes, who think, that the Iewes may dayly be converted; or these who think, that they shall not be converted till the coming of Christ? the former sort may be confident to be heard dayly, which these others can not. And moreover the former sorte seeth (as the Fathers did see, Heb. 11. 13,) everlasting glorie presently at hand; and therupon they doe minde and seek heavenly things, as they ar commanded, Col. 3. 1, 2: and the other sort ar out of hope of glorie in heaven (at least) yet for the space of 1000 yeers, and they set their affections on the things on earth. Yea and it gives encouragement unto the wicked, that they shall not be judged, nor their bodies tormented these 1000 yeers to come yet; and on the other side the fear of imminent judgement and punishment is a more powerfull motive to departe from iniquitie. For which cause the Lord wold not give unto men the knowledge of that tyme, but will have us to be alwayes preparing and waiting for that coming to judgement. Wherfor we pray unto our Lord Iesus, who even now is king of kinges, and reigneth in the midst of his enemies, and is offended at the foolish conceites of unstable heartes, That he wold make his
power

power manifest by confirming them whom he hes called and gifted with the knowledge of his eternal gospel, and by reducing all his elect both Iewes and gentiles who goe astray; and that he wold now, even now give us heavenly heartes, and tie us all together in the acknowledgement and obedience of his truth, To the praise of his name, and our spiritual conforte both now and evermore. Come Lord Iesu, and change our vile bodies, that they may be lyke unto thy glorious bodie according to thy working, wherby thou art able even to subdue all thinges unto Thy self.



Textes of Scripture cleared.

<p>Act. 1, 6. p. 2. Luk 21, 28. p. 4. Mich. 5, 1. 23. pag. 5. Amo. 9, 8, 9, 10, 11. p. 7 and 28. Pl. 46, 45 & 48, 1, 2 & 87, 1, 23. p. 8 Gen. 13, 16 & 15, 5. pa. 9. Zeph. 3, 13. pa. 10. Joel 2, 28, 31 & 3, 14. pa. 11 & c. 2, 3. pa. 13. Esa. 11, 11, 12. p. 17 v. 6 & 9. p. 34 & c. 66, 8. p. 29 & c. 35, 10. p. 36 & c. 14, 2. p. 39 & c. 27, 13. p. 68 Ezek. 37, 19, 21. pa. 19.</p>	<p>Hos. 1, 10, 11. p. 20 and c. 3, 4. pag. 22. Jer. 33, 12, 13. p. 26. Act. 15, 14. pag. 26. Rom. 11, 32. pag. 30. Zech. 12, 10. p. 32 & c. 14, 4. p. 51. Rev. 3, 21. p. 39 & 40. Heb. 2, 8. p. 39 & v. 5 p. 50. 1 Cor. 15, 22. pag. 42. Dan. 2, 31, 35. p. 49. Ioh. 1, 51 p. 52 & c. 18, 36. p. 61. Gen. 49, 10. pag. 63. 2 Pet. 3, 8. pag. 64.</p>
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Good Reader

*Excuse the escapes in printing : the Printer under-
 standes not this language: and if thou willest, correcte these.*

Pag. 2. lin. 17, after *quere* adde, Act. 1. 6, lin. 23. read, *seruantes* pa. 4.
 l. 8, r. *paraphrase*. pa. 5. li. 3, r. als l. 6. r. *miraculous*, pa. 5 li. 24. for 13
 read 1, 3. pa. 10, unto li. 2. adde, *nether of the church in heaven only*,
 p. 11, li. 30, after *and* for 2 read 3. p. 14, l. 6, read *mentioned*, p. 17.
 l. 3, after *saintes* adde, *shalbe*. pa. 21, li. 12, read *elsewher*. pa. 34, li. 29,
 read *rootes*. p. 35, li. ult. read *foreward*. p. 38, li. 4, for 13 read 2 p. 39
 l. 22, read *differred*. p. 40, l. 1, after *is* adde *no*. p. 4, l. 10, read *reason*,
 l. 22, for *if* read, *it*. p. 51, l. 3, for 45, read 54. p. 54, l. 1, for 6, read
 60. pag. 61, li. 19, for *me* *hopely*, read *I hope*. pag. 62, li. 11, read
michty.





THE KINGDOMES Weekly Intelligencer:

SENT ABROAD
To prevent mis-information.

From *Tuesday* the 7. of *January*, to *Tuesday* the 14. of *January*. 1644.

Tuesday the 7. of *January*.

THe House of Peers desired a Conference with the house of Commons, concerning the great Ordinance of Parliament, about the Members not enjoying Offices or Commands, Military, or Civill; and also concerning the Bishop of *Canterbury*. At which conference the Lords declared, that they had considered of the Ordinance concerning the Members, but (for the reasons (then delivered in writing) they could not agree to the same, and for that the Peers of this Kingdom in all Ages, had adventured their blood in the preserving of the Laws of the Land, and Liberty of the Subject, and in this great Cause in hand (wherein Religion and Liberty, is so much concerned) they have taken a Protestation to live and die in defence of Religion and Liberty. Besides, no crimes are objected; and they conceive, that this alteration, may much prejudice the affairs of Parliament, in the managment of the Armies, untill things be settled: That is most true, for the enemy at this present

takes advantage of the unsettlement of our Armies, and is marched with a great force towards *Winchester*, and the borders of *Sussex*.

The second part of this conference, concerning the Bishop of *Canterbury*, was to this purpose, that the Bishop had Petitioned the house of Peers, that if they intended to proceed to do execution according to sentence, that then his punishment might be changed (meaning, that he might not be hanged, but beheaded.)

And likewise desired, that he might (for the comfort of his soul) have leave granted, that Doctor *Heywood* (a Popish, Superstitious, and Prelaticall Doctor) that Licensed Popish Books, and now a prisoner) and Doctor *Sterne*, and Doctor *Martin* (two Delinquents and prisoners) might come unto him.

And lastly, he presented to the Lords a pardon under the great Seale of *England*, dated in *April*, in the nineteenth yeare of the King; for all offences by him Committed: (You see how unwilling they are at Court to let the most notorious Delinquent be punished.) But a pardon is most proper when a man is Convicted; to pardon before, is to presume a guilt: Besides, this pardon was never pleaded by the Bishops Councell, so no allowance could be made of it: If ever any man in *England* deserved punishment, for being guilty of an endeavour to overthrow Religion, Lawes, and Liberty, this man deserves it in the most exemplary way.

And therefore the house of Commons refused to concur with the Lords in the beheading of him (it would be contrary to his *Dreame*, if he were not hanged) he told the Officers when they shewed him the warrant for execution, that his hamme-strings were broken, and he could not go up a Ladder.

For the Ministers he desired, the house of Commons held it not fit, they should all go unto him, but yet gave leave Doctor *Sterne* (the best of three evils) should go, provided that Master *Palmer*, and Master *Marshall*, or one of them, should go along with Doctor *Sterne* to visit him, and to do the office belonging to those, that go to visit a dying man.

Wednesday the 8. of January.

THe little Bishop not resting satisfied with the Negative Vote of the house of Commons, concerning his beheading; Petitioned the house of Commons, that in regard he was an old man, a Bishop, a Doctor, and a Divine, that he had had the honour to sit in Parliament, and to be a privy Coun-

Councellour to the King (not making mention that he was Godfather to the Prince) and in regard he begged not his life, that he might have the Sentence changed, and be beheaded, and that his head and body might be delivered to his servants to be entered; which at last was agreed unto, notwithstanding the former Order.

And an Ordinance of Parliament was brought in, and passed accordingly, for the *Indemnity* of the Sheriffs of *London*, for taking off the head of the Bishop of Canterbury, and not executing him, as a Traitor, as by the Ordinance of attainder it ought to have been.

Colonell *Davis*, Colonell *Aldriche*, and divers other Commanders of my Lord Generalls foot, presented a modest, and discrete Petition to the Parliament, concerning the well ordering of the Army, taking notice withall, as if some jealousies were had upon them; They were called in) and the house gave them thanks for their care of the Army, for the faithfull services, they had done for the Parliament, and though some information had been given concerning others, yet as the Petitioners, there was none, and that the house had a good opinion of them.

This day an Ordinance passed the house of Commons, for the better regulating the matter of billet of Souldiers, with which the poor subject of England is so much burdened: A Commander now shall not come and say, I will be my own carver, he must send for the Magistrate, or other Civil Officer where he comes to quarter, and take their advice and consent in the quartering of his men: and if they abuse themselves in their quarters, provision is there made for the punishment of them.

The House of Commons this day sent to the Lord Generall, and Earle of Manchester, to know the reason, why their Commanders and Souldiers, did not quarter neer or upon the Lyne, according to the direction of the Committee of both Kingdoms long since given: the enemy having attempted to come neere the line in Hampshire and Suffex with a body of Horse.

Thursday the 9. of January.

This day the house of Commons at a Conference, presented to the Lords, their reasons, and opinion concerning the Great Ordinance, about the Members, first, they shewed that it was a breach of privilege in the Lords, to send down a paper of Reasons, against a Bill, or Ordinance, and make no alterations, nor amendments, nor send down the Bill or Ordinance, with the paper of reasons.

Vuuu 2

There

There were divers particulars offered at that conference by Master *Ellis*, a worthy Member of the house of Commons.

And withall, they offered reasons to the Lords, for the speedy passing of the said Ordinance, for that the affaires of the said Kingdom was such, as would not admit of delay; the enemy taking advantage by the unsettlement of our forces.

The Committee of both Kingdomes presented to the house, a new modell of an Army, both for horse, and foot, and traine of Artillery; the number of horse 7000. and of foot 14000. how these shall be commanded depends upon the passing the Ordinance with the Lords.

Though the place of Treaty, and number be agreed on: It is supposed, that till the Parliament do settle the new modell of the Army, and how commanded, that they will not proceed with the Treaty; because they will be prepared to fight as well as to Treat; which now they are not, while things concerning the Army hangs thus in suspense.

Fryday the 10. of January.

THis day the Bishop of Canterbury, (about the Houre, he was beheaded in;) Petitioned both Houses of Parliament, for some allowance out of his Sequestred Estate, to be employed for to defray the charges of his Buriall, which was taken into consideration.

A report was this day made to the house concerning the defects in keeping the line, and by whose souldiers the same was done; the care for future is expected.

This day the Bishop (about 12. a clocke) had his head cut of at one blow: before he suffered, he made a Sermon on the scaffold, which he desired might be exactly taken from him by the writers then present, and afterwards published: you have it in print already, and therefore I mention no particulars, onely this: he told the people Saint *John Baptist* lost his head: and by severall passages he let fall, he aspersed the Parliament, but in as cautelous an expression as was possibly: A cloud attended the time of execution: but the sun was splendent as soon as his head was of: The differences in the Assembly, were this day agreed, between the deserting Brethren, and the rest: No union in the Church so long as head was on.

The house of Commons this day, sent unto the Lords, a Message, to quicken them in passing the great Ordinance, for otherwise delay would be

be destructive; the Lords returned Answer, they would take it into their present consideration.

Saturday the 11. of January.

THe house of Peers at a conference presented to the Commons another Paper of reasons, against the great Ordinance. The house of Commons, was short in their resolution thereupon: And ordered, that on *Monday* next all their Members should attend the Messenger to the house of Peers: who is by his Message to presse the Lords speedily to passe the great Ordinance, for that the affairs of the Kingdom are in such distraction by the non settlement of the Armies, that any further delay will be destructive.

The house took this day into consideration the businesse of the Army, and the new modell thereof; and settled so much of it as concerned the number in every Regiment (1200) and the totall number 21000. horse and foot, and also debated what proportions should be laid on each County, to maintaine these forces.

The examinations concerning the Kentish Delinquents, were this day transmitted up to the Parliament, the number of the Delinquents, being neere 80. persons, of which more at large hereafter.

News came this day to the Parliament of the taking at Sea, of severall Irish Commissioners, who were employed by his Majesty (as it is said) about bringing over some force hither, some of the persons of noat taken; are the Lord *Brabison*, Sir *Henry Tichborne*, Sir *James VVare*, Mr. *VVakefield*, Mr. *Nugent*, and others, when they and the Papers taken about them, are arrived here in Captain *Coachmans* ship (now at Sea with them) you will hear more news: perhaps works of darknesse, may come to light. They were taken by one of the Ships that rides before *Liverpoole*, and were sent to Captain *Swanley* by Colonell *John Moore*, Governour of *Liverpoole*.

The forces under Major Generall *Launborne*, have good successe in *Wales* since *Gerards* coming up to assist the King here: he hath taken *Cardigan Town*, and within three dayes after, by continuall batttery (for that time) of the Castle, and a breach made and entered by his forces; he reduced the Castle to the obedience of the King and Parliament, and possessed himselfe of all the Ordinance, Armes, and Ammunition.

Sir *Thomas Middleton* answers these forces with successe in the other part of *Wales*; so that it is hoped (if supply come not from the South) *Wales* will be shortly reduced to the obedience of King and Parliament: Major Generall *Laugherne* is marched to take *Newcastle* in *Wales*, which (when the Messenger came away) the enemy was in consultation to quit and demolish the works.

Monday the 13 of January.

THIS day the whole House of Commons, according to the Order made on Saturday, went up to the House of Peeres, with the Message to presse them to passe the great Ordinance for disabling of Members of Parliament to have Commands in the Armies, or to any Civil Office, granted by Parliament.

The Lords returned an Answer, they would speedily take it into consideration, and accordingly, entered into debate thereof, and rejected the Ordinance.

God grant a happy concurrence between Lords and Commons, and that the Enemy get not too much advantage by this businesse.

The Commons have this day finished all their Votes upon the new modell of an Army; what number of Horse and Foot: how many in every Regiment, and what proportion every County is to maintaine monethly: which Ordinance is to be brought in to the house on Wednesday next.

And then the Command of this new formed Army, will be taken into consideration.

If

If to morrow prevent it not, when the house resumes the businesse of the Treaty, which the Lords, have fully agreed unto, and named foure Lords persons of honour, to Treat: To morrow the Commons (if nothing that hath happened this day alter their resolution) will name their Commissioners to Treat.

For Field newes there is little, Colonell *Goring* vapours between Portsmouth, and Southampton with his force: but doth no hurt: Lieutenant Generall *Middleton*, is gone with a party, and more aide is to second him, to visite *Goring*, and this the enemy doth by takiug advantage of the unsettlement of our forces.

Colonell *Holborne* since the time that he entred *Bridgewater* and took two hundred horse: he hath taken severall prisoners since, and notwithstanding the power of the enemy, visits their quarters.

If in case the Treaty take not effect, (which that it may do, and be well done, ought to be the prayer of every honest hearted Englishman) the Parliament by the spring will have 40. thousand men at least in an Army in the field: I meane, by the conjunction of the Southerne and Northerne forces, intended to come up.

A party of Colonell *Puresfoyes* Regiment, hath fallen upon the Enemy in their quarters at Bandbury, and at another place: they took above 40. horse at
one

one place, and so at another. Colonell Gerard bends toward Northamptonshire with his forces. But the Earle of Manchester is ordered, to command his horse to march out of the County of Bedford, to the lyne, (he having in that County neere 3000. horse as it is informed) to oppose the Enemy, which will make the Enemy halt in his advance.

From the North there is no newes, the Post coming not till *Tuesdayer*, casts the Intelligence of Northerne affaires out of time, to come in this dayes newes as it was wont.

Colonell Foxes cubs, have fallen upon the Enemy neere Dudley Castle, and taken Captain Lieutenant *Simpson*; Captain Lieutenant to Colonell *Beaumont*; and divers other prisoners; and so I end with the wily *Fox*.



Printed for R. W. January. 14.

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(1100)

THE Numb: 19 LONDON POST:

Faithfully Communicating His
Intelligence of the Proceedings of Parliament, and
many other Memorable Passages certified by Letters
and Advertisements.

From { Tower-Hill. Pontefract. Carlisle. Gosport.
Deny. Skipton. Chirke. New-hall.
Downe. Bolton. Newarke. Oxford.
Antrim. Scarborough. Plymouth. Yorke.

The Governour of Newarke imprisoned by his owne souldiers, and the designs
of the Garrison to surrender that place unto the Parliament. The Garrison
at Newhall in Denbighshire taken by Colonel Mitton, and his surprisall of
fifty horse with their Riders and with Armes correspondent. Two ships
taken by Vice Admirall Batten going to the Rebels in Ireland laden with
Vittuals, Armes, and Ammunition. Some Observations on the death of the
Bishop of Canterbury not yet published. Four ships taken by Captain
Swanley, wherein were surpris'd the Irish Com-missioners. The dis-
perate resolution of the Cavaliers at Pontefract, The Enemy advanced to-
wards Portsmouth, and the Parliaments forces making haste to overtake
them. A Trumpet from Oxford for Exchange of some prisoners at Yorke.

Passed according to Order, and Printed for G. B. January 14. 1644.



Began the last weeke with the Exe-
cution of Sir John Horham; and I
shall begin this weeke with the Exe-
cution of the Bishop of Canterbury, a
man greater in power and in malice,
and a more dangerous Delinquent to
the Parliament, and to the State than
He. I will not vex you with the Re-
petition of the last words he spoke,
which have already been Printed and
published, even to the emulation of
the Printers. This onely I shall ob-
serve, that he dying, did lay his blood
upon the City, and beleever me (Gen-
tlemen) you have reason to rejoyce that he is cut off, for had he lived and
T beene

been in power, he would have caused much innocent blood to be shed amongst you, you may find the same malice to the proceedings of the Parliaments, and of your happiness, which he expressed in his life, to continue with him to his death, and to be rehearsed in his last words. I shall passe from this, to declare unto you, how the Justice of his punishment was proportioned, to the nature of his offence: You may remember how he indeavoured to divide the King from his Parliament, and now behold his owne head is divided from his body. He was the giver of bloody counsells, inciting his Majesty to War against the Scots: That War was called the Bishops War: And now you may behold this Bishop in his owne blood, which abundantly did spring from him in many Scarlet threads, one streame striving to overtake another, as if it made hast, which should first get out of that guilty body. You may remember, that in his life he laboured much to cloud the light of the Gospell; and now behold at this death, the Sun which was clouded all the morning, did smile outright, as if (this man and master of superstition being removed) the Sun rejoiced to see the propagation of the Gospell of the Son of eternall light. I will make no mention of Cardinall *Wolsey*, I know not to whom more fitly to parallell this Prelate, then unto Pope *Urban*, late deceased, for first the one was a Pope, and the other, tis said, would be one, they were both ambitious in extremes, and greedy of honour in the highest degree: they were both too prodigally indulgent to the Clergy, which rendered some of their Priests so full of all manner of debauchment, as if they had contracted with the Devill for the tradition and Monopoly of sin, they were, both great favourers of the *French Faction* which made the *French* to prevail so much in *Germany*, and the *Papists* to domineer so much in *England*. But they did resemble in nothing more then in this, that they were both Enemies to the Gospell, and persecuters of the Saints of God. I am the worst man in the World to rake in the dusts of the dead, to find out their offences. I will therefore conclude the parallell, that though they were destroyers of Churchmen, yet they were both great reparers of Churches and Colledges, and both lovers of the Muses, and this indeed will keep their names alive, as long as learning and the World shall last.

I will not trouble you any more with this displeasing Subject, but only with this observation, that although he came with confidence to the Scaffold, and the blood wrought lively in his cheeks, yet when he did lye down upon the block, he trembled every joint of him, the sense of something after death, and the undiscovered Country, into which his soul was wandering, starting his resolution, and possessing every part of him with an universall Palley of feare.

According

According to my Commission, I will in this place acquaint you with what Intelligence I have received from Foreign parts, which is, That the French have restored *Crimenach* in the *Palatinate*, with all its appurtenances, to the *Palatine Philip Lodwick*, brother to the late deceased *Palatine* of the *Rhine*.

Gallas hath attempted to get out of *Adelsberg*, where the *Swedes* besiege him, but is forced to retire into the Town again, where there is already great want of victualls, *Coningsmarch* with a party of the *Hessens*, keeping it closely blockt up.

Tausen is about *Dresden* in *Saxony*, and hath taken all the small Townes about *Lipsick*, and begun already to raise contributions in the latter part of *Bohemia*.

The treaty of peace betwene the Emperour and the Prince of *Transylvania* goes on, and their Deputies are to meet about it speedily, but no thoughts, that the *Transylvanians* endeavour to have the Protestant Religion settled in *Hungary*, and the Jews banished out of the Kingdom, which will be some obstacle to the conclusion.

The Emperour laboureth to have his sonne crowned King of *Hungary*, and *Bohemia*, but whether he can effect it, is yet uncertain.

The *Swedes* goe on in their conquest of *Denmarke*, and take towne after towne. The States of *Denmarke* will have peace with the *Swedes*, if it be possible, whether the King of *Denmarke* will or no.

You may remember, that about a fortnight since, it was my hint to speak of *Ireland*, and informe you of the condition and affaires of that Kingdom, and amongst some other observations, you may be pleased to call to mind, that I acquainted you, that the Maier of *London Derry*, and Colonell *Audley Merwin*, with some others, were supposed to stand ill affected to the proceedings of the Parliament, & to be averse unto the taking of the Covenant; this intelligence of *Mr. Mercurius Britannicus* meeting with, did fall upon it, and had almost shooke it out of its reputation. I will by no means meddle with him, for you know *Britannicus* is an angry man, and I must take care hereafter how I consider him: I will therefore proceed with the truth of my intelligence, which will vindicate my credit, and having another Letter sent me to confirm the same, I will goe with it directly on, without looking or leaning on the one side or the other.

Worthy Sirs,

WE have perused a Letter of yours of the 23. of this instant, directed to Captain *Osburn* and Captain *Tausen*, wherein we collected by virtue of a Commission and Instructions from the State of *Scot-*

Land, that you have proceeded in the administration of the Solemne League. And that not onely all of the *Scottish* Army, but many of the *Brittish*, as well Souldiers and Inhabitants of the Countyes of *Dowry* and *Astrin* unanimously welcome the same, and that you now intended to visit these parts, and are desirous to know with what acceptance the towne of *Derry*, and the Regiments about it do intend to receive the covenant. In answer to this, we thought fit to returne you that we first took notice of this Covenant, by letters from the Parliament in *England*, which were sent by Captaine *O Connolly*, wherein they expressed, they would send some unto us, who should give us further satisfaction for the grounds thereof, so that we conceive, your Authority from the State of *Scotland* to be much contracted to inable you to the administration of it unto us, who are of the *Brittish* Army: for though wee much reverence the State of *Scotland*, yet it may be a precedent of dangerous consequence to our Posterity, to engage ourselves in so Nationall and exemplary concernment, by vertue of an Authority derived from them, so that if we made you no other reply, but that we must expect the Parliaments further direction, we might think it satisfactory. That the *Scottish* Army, and many of the *Brittish* have welcomed it, we professe ourselves to have beene very happy in their assistance; but we understand our selves, that we are immediately subiect to the Lawes and Government of this Kingdome of *Ireland*, either as we are in a Civill or Martiall capacity, so farre different, as the example of the one, in a subiect of this nature, is not a binding argument for the imitation of the other. And certainly if our fellow subiects of those parts, had received so timely an advertisement, as we have lately done, it would have ministred some Martiall scruples unto them, for wee have received Letters from his Maiestie (whose construction of the Covenant wee forbear) and Proclamation, from the State of this Kingdome of *Ireland*, who have ever beene, and are Independantly intrusted with our Government, and the sence of our Parliament in this Kingdome upon it, which all unanimously doe prohibite, that we in no wise tender, take, or suffer the said Covenant to be taken, but to employ our indavours to the contrary, and the failers herein are not to suffer any small reprooves, but to abide the highest censure of our Lawes, so that if for the present (and being in these great streights) we should receive the same, how should we sweare in one Article to maintaine our Lawes, and in another Article sweare to demolish that which is established by the Solemn Statutes of our Kingdome? To repeale a Statute is proper, but not to breake it downe, and that Repeale must be by the House of Commons

Assembled

Assembled in Parliament, and not by common people assembled in the field. How shall we swear to defend the Priviledges of Parliament, and in the meane time oppose the sence and Declarations of our naturall Parliament, and desert those whom we have elected? How shall we swear to maintaine our Liberties, and presently afterwards swear that the Delinquents must be tried by the Iudicatures of the two Kingdomes, of *England*, and of *Scotland*, or by others having power from them, or to that effect? By which we doe so subiect the Liberty of us and our Posterity, that we leave our Lawes a dead Letter without Judicature, which is their spoile, and the breath of us all. We intend not to dispute, but onely propound some Questions that *prima facie* do arise, and we could heartily wish that this Covenant had been forborne, which may (if press'd) breed a distraction amongst us, that are firmly united against our common Enemies, and in that, we hope, we shall give the Parliament abundant satisfaction.

This premised drawes an Answer to our last Question how the Covenant will be entertained here? The Answer to which is, That for as much as concerneth us, we labour in great streights, and shall make knowne our condition, and the present constitution of our Affaires, and the sence of our Parliament and State concerning the same, which happily may put them into second thoughts, untill which time we resolve to forbear meddling with the same, and are heartily sorry we cannot welcome your Messengers yet, desiring you to forbear proceeding further in your journey, or coming to this place, or parts, that the peace and unity now amongst us may not be disturbed. We pray you to take our advice and request into your serious consideration, and resolve not to come farther, for we cannot admit you into this City without danger, which we would willingly prevent; So we remaine,

Your respected Friends,

London Derry, 1644.

Robert Thornon Maier,

Audley Mer vine.

This Letter you see is subscribed by *Robert Thornon*, Maier, and *Audley Mer vine*, I name *Audley Mer vine* againe, for though he be last in the Letter, I believe he was first in the contrivement of it, if you please you may remember that there was a Speech of this *Audley Mer vine*, which we had here in print, if you compare the stile and the method of it, with this Letter, you will find it so like, that you will say, that they did both proceed from the same *Minerva*: The Letter is compiled with much art and subtilty, and argues the writer to have an able head, I doe wish him an honest and a well-affected heart.

The taking of the Towne and Church at *Pontefract* hath bin heretofore declared to you; but so abruptly, and in such pieces, that you might call it rather a fragment of the newes then any full and satisfying intelligence we have received; it is ledde thusne up by a very able hand the full manner of it, together with the desperate state of the besieged in the Castle of *Pontefract*, and the occasions of it, and what course this gallant Gentleman Sir *Thomas Fairfax* taketh to force that Castle to the obedience of the Parliament; you shall find also the hard condition of the other Garrisons of the County, which (being all they have in *Yorkshire*) are now all besieged by our forces; to be in the said letter fully and lively represented, the newes indeed is remarkable, & should be sorrowful with too long a Grace to keep your stomachs fasting. I will at once set it all before you, Pass to it, and welcome!

SIR,

FOR Newes which are, I can certify you that on the twenty eight of December last, about ninety horse broke's by way from *Pontefract* Castle, (the foot and a few horse before having given our Leaguer an alarme) and escaped the same day, our forces sent a party from one part of the towne against the Church next the Castle, which the Castle forces had possesse themselves of, the Castle having before fired all that street next unto them, that onely the Church could be a safety to them after some skirmishing, wherein divers of ours were hurt, with Gavelocks, and other iron instruments we broke open the Church doore and entred, those within being about sixtens, got into the steeple, one while resolving to melle downe the ladders upon the heads of our men, another while intending to blow up the steeple with three battells of gunpowder, but that neither taking effect, in the night time, with long-matches they let one another downe, some of them broke their legs, others were hurt in their loines, four of them were slaine, some were wounded, and some escaped, which were but very few. In the time of the taking this Church, at first the Castle spared not their Ordnances upon it whosoever were taken from this Castle since the siege began, will take no quarter, the Cavaliers that came from *Knaresborough* to *Pontefract*, having made them more mad and desperate therbefore. Sir *Iohn Meldrum* hath bin at *Newcastle*, and at *Bolton* Castle, against which the siege yet continueth, some houses the Castle hath burnt in the towne, little action else is done there, onely the old Governour one Master *Isaacs*, is sent from *York* to *Cawood* Castle, who in words desires earnestly that *Bolton* Castle were in the Parliaments hands.

Sir *Edmund Cowper*, Alderman *Hemsworth*, Alderman *Meyer* mail.

1644

nants, Master *Cadwraig* an able Minister, but not a Covenanter, and Master *Stones*, a conceited Minister, and an enemy in publique ordinances, are gon from *York* towards *London*, who were sent for by the Parliament: Sir *Robert Bels*, Sir *Roger Inghes*, and Alderman *Scor* have entered bond to be ready at command when they shall be called, but for the present they are, or pretend not to be well, though they are to answer things said against them.

About three daies since, a party out of *Scarborough* fell in the night upon Colonell *Sentraps* quarters, took the Colonell, his Cornets, two Corporalls, about three and twenty souldiers, and about fifty horse.

To day come a Trumpet from *Oxford*, and another from *Scarborough*, it is supposed for exchange of prisoners.

A ship was last weeke taken by the *Scarborough* Pyrates, which Captaine *Bend* was Master of, who is labouring to composed for the bottom, the goods being lost. Also Masters *Lindalls* ship laden with eloath and lead, and going from *Hull* to *London*, was taken by an *Irish* Pyrate, and we heare not any thing what is become of the Master or Mariners. Before this, by report from Sir *John Meldrum* (some troops from *Newmarks* were marching till they came to *Rotherom*, Colonell *Bright* commanding in *Shiffild*, sent our nineteene troopes, who tooke five and twenty of the *Newmarks*, most commanders and officers, they were sent with a new Governour, to take possession of *Pontefract*, which before was beleaguered; amongst those taken was Colonell *Cob*, a Captaine of our towne, who since we heare is escaped with two more to *Skipton Castle*, the rest I thinke are safe.

Six great guns are to goe from *York* to morrow againe against *Pontefract Castle*, and horses are this day to carry provision thither, and more hereafter.

Three great guns are intended to goe from hence against *Bolton Castle*, *Castle* is not taken, nor any place else, *Pontefract* is and will be close besieged, I have not else.

Your loving friend &c.

The Malignants, who with all their armed power have bin long before our Garrison of *Phymouth*, and could never take it with their hands, have now assauked it with their tongues, &c. with a legion of lies, would conquer our understanding to a believe, that the Town of *Phymouth* is now submitted unto their command. In the like manner, they would persuade us, that I know not what defeat is lately given to Sir *Thomas Alderton* forces, when we have received good advertisement, that the *Arde* and suc-

cessfull

effectfull Commander, Colonell *Misson*, hath lately taken *Newhall House* near *Chirke Castle* in *Drubhshire*, in which was a Garrison of the Enemy, where having beaten up their quarters, he took fifty Horſe, with their Riders, and good ſtore of Carbines and Piſtolls, but being not able to Garriſon the place for the ſervice of the Parliament, he returned from whence he came, having taken his Priſoners and booty with him, without any loſſe at all.

In the meane while wee underſtand that Colonell *Batten* Viceadmirall hath done good ſervice at ſea, and that he hath taken two ſhips laden with ammunition, and other goods to ſupplie the Rebels in *Ireland*, But Captaine *Swanley* whoſe name begins to be as terrible to the *Iriſh*, as the name of *Drake* was to the *Spaniards*, hath not onely ſurprized ſome releife and Armes going to the Rebels, but hath taken the Commiſſioners themſelves who were ſent from *Ireland* to treat with his Maieſty concerning the ceſſation of Armes; The names of the principall of which commiſſioners are ſaid to be, the Lord *Taſſe* and *Sir Henry Titchburne* who are both of the privy Counſell of *Ireland* with ſome ſeven or eight others, beſides their Attendants. The taking of theſe men will be very ill newes to Colonell *Aulley* *Meruis* at *London-Derry*, who was ſent forward to forbid our brethren the *Sons*, and the ſolemn Covenant of the three Kingdomes to adventure into the Towne of *London-Derry*.

The Malignants and the Papiſts (yon may put them both together very ſafely) are not ſo combined to our deſtruction in *Ireland*, but we may finde ſome ſtill to parallel them in *England*: yon are not ignorant that Mr. *Roger Leſtrange* was ſentenced to death for his Malignancy, and ſince that *Edward Paſton*, a proſeſſed Papiſt, and a man of very large poſſeſſions in whoſe houſe he was taken, hath beene brought up unto *London* with ſome others to anſwer ſuch Delinquencies as he ſhall be charged with. But the *Iriſh* Rebels, & the Antie Covenanters in *Scotland* have not yet received their laſt ſentence for we heare of ſome late unmercifull exploits of theirs; and amongſt other villanies by them committed, that they burned one of the Houſes of the Marquis of *Argyle* into the ground.

And ſurely Malignants are not all of one minde, for as we are certified by Letters directed to a very Honorable perſonage, the Garriſon ſouldiers in *Newark* have been in a great mutiny amongſt themſelves, and (I will be bold to uſe the words of the Letter) they have clapped up in priſon the Governor and one Captaine, and have heent in conſultation providently to ſurrender the Town to the Parliament, whiles they may yet have faire quarters, and good condition, fearing that if our Armes ſhould beſeige them, they ſhould not be able to oppoſe them.

The Houſe of Commons have ſat twice within theſe foure dayes concerning the forme and advance of the new Army, and for a conſtant pay to be conferred on them: the ſumme is not to exceede one and twenty thouſand, of this we hope we ſhall be able to certifie you further, very ſpeedily.

By a Letter from a Lieutenant Colonell at *Farnham*, we are advertiſed, that Colonell *Goring* is come from his Maieſty into *Hampſhire*, his forces conſiſting of foure thouſand Horſe, two thouſand Dragoones, and fifteen hundred Foot, againſt theſe the County of *Kent* hath ſent fifteen hundred Horſe, to joine with the Parliaments forces now in *ſuſſex*, and to reſiſt the attempts of *Goring*, in that Association: beſides a great part of our forces are gone out of *Redding* againſt the Enemy, who are ſaid to be now at *Goſport*, not far from *Perſmouth*: from theſe it is very probable, that you ſpeedily will heare of action.



FINIS.

A LETTER

Sent from

Major-general Brown,

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY

The Earle of ESSEX.

CONTAINING,

A true Relation of a great Victory

obtained against the Kings forces neere

Abingdon, upon Saturday last,

Jan. 11. 1644.

Where Sir Henry Gage Governour of Oxford,
and divers others, of note and quality
were slain.

Jan. 14. 1644.

It is his Excellencies pleasure that this Letter be forthwith
printed and published.

Jo. Baldwin, Secretary to his Excellency.

Jan. 14.

LONDON,

Printed for Iohn Thomas. 1644.

A LETTER

Sent from

Major-General Brown

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY

The Duke of Essex

CONTAINING

A true Relation of a great Victory

obtained against the King's forces near

Abington, upon Sunday the

January 11. 1644.

Where Sir Henry Goring's army of

and divers other of our army

were slain.

It is for the more pleasure that the Letter is printed

and published

In London

LONDON

Printed for Iohn Iohnson



May it please your Excellency,

Hold my selfe bound to
give your Excellency
an account of the ene-
mies late attempt upon
this garrison. A great
party of horse and foot from all their
garrisons (with the assistance of
Vallingford forces) under the com-
mand of Pr. Rupert fell upon us this
morning early on Culham side, with
intent to storme us. They gained a
bridge (where I kept a Centry)
about halfe a mile from us, and pre-
sently set the Countrey to cut it
down,

A 2

down, to prevent our pursuit of them
 in case they should be forced backe,
 making use of planks for their own
 retreat upon the alarm; and to pre-
 vent the cutting down of the bridge,
 (which I had notice of) I drew forth
 to fight with them, first sending out
 Scouts on the other side of the Town,
 and securing our workes,) and be-
 cause the caseway was long and nar-
 row, I was forced to send some of my
 men into the meades, who chearful-
 ly marched through the water, and
 so flanked the enemy on both sides.
 The enemy fought it stoutly, and
 plied us with their Ordnance, which
 they brought along with them; and
 found (Plesse God) no lesse cou-
 rage in ours, as the issue proved. The
 dispute lasted almost foure houres; at
 length

(3.)

length we gained the bridge ere they had quite broke it down, and forced them to the hedges and bankes adjacent, which proved of singular advantage to them; but those places proved too hot for them, and they allowed us to beate them out of the field, notwithstanding the disadvantages we fought upon. Had it been proper or secure, in respect of the garrison, we had followed them; but they hasted away with three Carts laden with dead men, besides many thrown into the River, and others carried on their horse backs. Their designe (I now understand) was, if they could not storme us, then (by pulling up the bridge) to prevent our hindring them to fortifie the Lady Careys house and the Church in
Cul-

Culliam, which would have played
of evill consequence to us; but they
were prevented.

• VVe lost of note, onely Major
Bradbury, a very gallant man, who
was slaine upon the bridge, and seven
or eight common Souldiers, at most;
and had some wounded: Captaine
Melvin and Captaine *Battenfield* are
wounded, but without danger, of
whom I must say, and of your Excel-
lencies Foot (whom I kept for our
reserve) they behaved themselves
with singular courage.

Prince *Maurice* was also in person
here, with Sir *Henry Gage* Governor,
and most of the Gentry of Oxford, to
see the event. Sir *Henry Gage* was
here slaine, and many others of note
whom I know not yet.

At

At the same precise time in the morning the enemies Horse from Farringdon fell on our Horse quarters; they found our men in more ready posture then they expected: the alarm was presently taken at all the quarters, being very neere together; and they came together, beate the enemy out of the Towne, chased them within a mile of Farringdon, and in pursuit slew, wounded, and tooke prisoners almost all, without any losse at all. Major *Farmor*, Major to Prince *Charles* regiment was slain, and his Lieutenant, with many others. Five of this regiment we took were Irish by their owne confession, whom I presently caused to be hanged in the Market-place, according to an Ordinance of Parliament. Cap-
taine

(6)
taine *Blunden* in Colonel *Martin* re-
giment deserves much for his cou-
rage in that service.

Abingdon,
Jan. 11. 1644.

Your Excellencies humble
servant,

RICHARD BROWNE,

For his Excellency the Lord
Generall, Earle of *Essex*,
these,

London.

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other remarkab

From V



The Weekly Account.

Published
Jann. the
15.

Containing,
Certain Speciall and Remarkable PASSAGES from
both Houses of PARLIAMENT; And Collections of
severall Advertisements; From, —

{ Abbingdon.
Portsmouth.
Westchester.

{ Manchester.
Newark.
Oxford.

{ Evesham.
Banbury.
Northampton.



A great overthrow given to Pr. Rupert, and Pr. Maurice, by Major General Brown at Abington, the Prince his Troop taken, the Governour of Oxford and the Governour of Wallingford both slain, the Princes Captain Lieutenant runneth by Captain Blundell, 3. Cart-loads of dead men carried into Oxford, and a great number to Wallingford, Capt. Farmer killed, and Pr. Ruperts Warrant found in his pocket, for the manner and time of storming Abbingdon, and a great number of other Officers slain and taken, besides common soldiers; Major Bradbury and some others slain on our side, Captain Melvin and Captain Butterfield and many others wounded, with the manner of Pr. Ruperts flight, and retreat to Oxford. A List of the names of the Commissioners that are to treat on our side at Uxbridge. Coll. Goring defeated before Portsmouth. Five Irish Rebels hanged at Abbingdon, with other remarkable news from other parts, and passages in Parliament.

From Wednesday the 8th, of January, to Wednesday the 15. of the same.

WEDNESDAY, January the 8.



The beginning of this Weeks Account, is a Letter from Portsmouth, dated two dayes since; which certifieth as followeth.

SIR,

THE news wherof at this time I can inform you, is this: A foot Regiment of Kentish men lately took shipping here, which are designed further West, either for Plymouth, or to joyn with the Horse and Dragons which went for the reliefe of Taunton Castle; but the latter I rather thinke to be their intention, for that I hear they are to land at Poole. We have had some Alarms since their departure, and our friends have informed us, that the

they have an intention to streighten our quarters, if they can possible, and the last night

Bbbb

our

Scouts brought word, that they had intelligence that Colonel Goring, with a strong Brigade of Horse was advancing this way, which (if true) may happily deterre some opposition before they come hither, if Colonel Norton and the rest of the Parliaments Forces near Chichester and Petersfield, can joyne together. However, we are not daunted at their coming, for we are in a good condition to make resistance, and have a Governour that is full of courage, and so are all our Officers and Soldiers. So being desirous to hear from you, and our friends in London, I rest

Your assured friend,

I. P.

This Week a Vote pass the House of Commons; That to have Presbyters in the Church, is agreeable to the Word of God, but the manner of that Government, or what power the Presbyters shall have, and the number of them is not concluded on, for the Parliament will take time to ballance the Reasons of the dissenting Brethren, with the Arguments that are on the other side, to the end that further scruples and inconveniences may hereafter be avoyded; which may sufficiently satisfy those that are so hastic, that (as we are informed) are forming a petition for a present resolution herein from the Parliament.

The last Week, I told you that the Archbishop of Canterbury was to be hanged, &c. which indeed was his sentence, but upon his humble petition this day, another Ordinance was pass that he should be beheaded.

This day we received assurance out of the West, that two hundred of the Kings horse, were taken by our partie which went into the West, of which Colonel Holborn had the command, near unto Bridgewater. Before I proceed any further, tis some wayes requisite, that I put you in minde of a mistake at the Brisse, in the last Weeks Accompt, For where it was said Colonel Holborns, &c. it should have been Colonel Ludlows, as it was in the Title,

T. H. U. R. S. D. A. T. January the 9.

This day the House of Commons presented to the Lords, their Reasons (in answer to the reasons formerly sent down by the Lords) shewing the necessity there was for the speedy passing the Ordinance upon the great Vote for displacing of Members of either House, of any Office, &c. which were very ponderous, and to spin out much time about it before it be pass, may give advantage to the Enemy, and hinder the setting of our Armies; for

It will shortly be time to draw them again into the field, if that the French take not.

Therefore in relation to the publick weale of the Kingdome, it was Ordered, That no private businesse should be debated in the House, till this Ordinance be agreed upon, the Militia settled, and the Commissioners to treat elected.

Letters out of Lancashire advertised, that Sir William Brereton was come in person to Manchester, but his forces remain in Cheshire, and its thought he will speedily return back to them, and that some additional strength will be sent thither out of Lancashire, for the speedy gaining of Chester. They also further write, that the Cessation continues still at Latham house, but the time first agreed on, is almost expired.

Collonel *Corbet* is said to be about Deynry in Northamptonshire, with a peece of the Kings Army, and another advanced towards the Vale of Evesham.

Collonel *Rositer* and Collonel *Fleetwood*, are on the other side of Northamptonshire, to prevent their further approaches into that County, or stop their passage towards Leicestershire, or relieve the Town of Newark.

There was some debate in the House touching sending provision into Ireland, for the better support of the Protestant Forces there, and a Vote past the House for that purpose.

There is also care taken for supplying the Garrison souldiers of Plymouth with cloathes and other necessaries, with which there is a Ship now going.

FRIDAY, January the 20.

A Man that would receive full satisfaction in a matter of moment, ought not to affect over-much brevity, which is the reason that move me at this time (when so many it may seeme old) to give you the whole summe of the Bishop of Canterburies Sermon or Speech on Tower Hill, before his Execution this day, which followeth thus.

Good people, I am an old man, and my memory short, and therefore being come to this place, I must crave leave to make use of my papers.

Good people, this is a sad place to preach in, yet I come to do it with this Text, *Heb. 12. 22* (desiring to imitate those that run with patience the Race that was set before them) Looking to Jesus the Author and finisher of our Faith, who for the joy that was set before him, endured the Crosse, despised the shame, and is set down at the right hand of God.

I have been long in my race, I have looked to Jesus the Author and finisher

THE SECOND WEEK. 1645.

her of my faith, his blessed and onely will be done; I am come to the end of my race, and here I feare not death the King of terrour, so I might be with Jesus, who is locally at the right hand of God; he dispised the shame for me, and God knowes, I dispise the shame for Jesus Christ. I am to passe through the red sea, and my feet are upon the very brinck of it. An argument, I hope, that God is bringing me to the land of promise, for that was the way through which of old he led his people; for before they came to the red sea he instituted a Paschever a lamb for them. Now if it be to be eaten with sower hearbs, I shall obey it, and labour to digest the sower hearbs, as well as the lamb I shall not think much of the hearbs, nor be angry with the hand that gathers them; but look to him, who alone governes the one and the other. For men can have no more power over me, then is given them from above. I am not afraid of this passage through the red-sea, for Christ hath gone through before for me; and I shall most willingly drinck of this cup, though not so deep as he did: and entering into the sea, I shall make through, in the way, that he shall be pleased to lead me.

And yet good people, it would be remembred, that when the servants of God, the children of Israel were in this boisterous sea, and Aron with them, the Egyptians persecuted them, and did a main drive them into the read-sea, and were drown'd in the same water. And I know my God is as able to deliver me out of this sea of blood, as he was to deliver them out of that. I most humbly thank my Saviour for it, who I hope will for-give the errors of my life. As the three children would not worship the Image, that the King had set up, so more will I the imaginations which the people have set up, nor will I worship Jeroboams Calves: and I pray God to blesse all people, and shew them the light, for if the blinde lead the blinde, they will both fall into the ditch. For my selfe I am a most grievous sinner against God, in my thoughts, words and deeds, and yet I doubt not but God who is rich in mercy, will forgive me. I have serched every corner of my hearr, and yet I thank God, I have not found any of my sinns that are there any sin that deserve death, by any known law of this Kingdom: and yet thereby I charge nothing upon my judges, for they are to proceed by proof, by variable witness: and in that way, I or any Innocent in the world, may justly be condemned. And I thank God, though the weight of the sentence lie very heavy upon me, yet I am as quiet within, I thank Christ for it, as ever I was. And though I am not the first Arch-Bishop, some of my predecessors have gone this way, though not by this meanes, for *Elfric* was hurried away, and lost his head by the Danes, and *Simon Sudbury* in the fury of *Wat Tyler* and his followers; and long before these, *Saint John Baptist* had his head danced off.

! THE II. WEEK, 1645.

by a lewd woman. And some comfort it is to me, not only that I goe the way of these great men, but also that my charge (if I may not be partiall) looks somewhat like that against Saint *Paul*, for he was accused for the Law, and the Temple, that is the Law and Religion; and like that of Saint *Stephen*, for breaking the Ordinances which *Moses* gave us. But there is a great clamour that I would have brought in Popery, I shall answer this more fully by and by, you know that the Pharisees said against Christ himselfe. If we let him alone, all men will beleive on him. *Et veniunt Romani*, and see how just the Judgement of God was, they crucified Christ for feare the Romans should come; and his death was, that that brought in the Romans upon them. And I pray God that this clamour of *Et veniunt Romani* (of which I have given to my knowledge no just cause) help not to bring him in, for the Pope never had such a Harvest in England since the Reformation, as he hath now upon the Scots and divisions that are amongst us. In the mean time by honour and dishonour, by good report and evill report, as a deceiver and yet true, am I now passing out of this world.

He spake also of some other particulars. First, that he thought in his conscience, that the King was a sound Protestant, according to the Religion established by law; and that hee thought he should know upon what grounds he built as well as any in England. Secondly, that this citie were stirred up against him, comparing his cause with St *Stephen*, saying that when nothing else would serve, the people were stirred up against him. And Herod went just the selfe same way, for when he had killed St *James*, he would not venture upon St *James*, till he saw how the people took it. And desired that the Prophecie in *Ier. 26. 15.* should be remembered.

Some other things worthy of note were uttered by him; which being rightly applied, doe all testify against him in his practise. But because the matter is abroad at large set forth in print, I shall not further insist upon, communicating this only for the satisfaction of those that have not seen the other.

SATURDAY. January 11.

THE good service done by Captain *Swanley*, was this day certified unto divers Commissioners from the Irish Rebels, were lately with his Majesty about a Treaty, for a further Cessation of Arms; and having received perfect instructions, and his Majesties Comissioners, under the broad-seale. Captain *Swanley* took the Ship, the Comissioners and all, whose names are these.

Lord

Lord Brabazon.	Mr. Thomas Williams.
Sir Henry Titchborne.	Mr. John Smith.
Sir James Ware	Mr. Alex. Nugent.
Mr. Ioan Wakefield,	Mr. Ralph Holland.
Mr Robert Price,	Patrick Price.

A great part of the busshesse this day in the House, was in settling the Ar-
mies, and reducing them to a certain number, which shall neither be neces-
sary for want of pay, nor weary the country by lying upon free Quarter.

MUNDAY, January 13.

THIS day it was advertised, that Collonel Pursey, and another partee of
the Parliaments forces, fell on the Enemies quarters in two places, near
Banbury, and took about 40. horse at one place, and twenty at another.

The great busshesse of the House was the settling of the Armies, and an Or-
dinance is to be brought into the House, for that purpose.

There was little other matter of note this day, therefore I shall hasten to
the next.

TUESDAY, January the 14.

THIS day we received excellent newes from Abbington, which is fully re-
lated in this ensuing Letter.

SIR,
ON Friday night, being the 10. of January, came intelligence to Major
Generall Brown, from Oxford, that the King, and whole Court, were
immediately resolved for Brighthelm, but about breaking of day, being Saturday,
a partee gathered from Wallingford, Farington, Whitney, Oxford, and all
their quarters round about, consisting as we now understand, of 800. horse,
and 1000. foot, commanded by Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, Sir Henry
Giles, Governour of Oxford, and most part of the Oxford Gentlemen attend-
ing him, to see the issue; came upon us on Cullam side, they had got over
the first Bridge called Cullam Bridge, more then a quarter of a mile from the
Town, where were two walking Centinels, one of whom they snap up; the o-
ther fired & retreated safely. They were got near our Town Bridge calld Hart-
bridge, ere we could well make ready, for at first they were resisted onely by
some few of the Guard. It was very foggy, and we expected they might
have another Body on Oxford side to storme our Works: So our Major Ge-
nerall manned all the Works, and then drew out of Hartbridge upon the Ene-
my, who had hitherto beaten back ours, being in number not above forty,
towards the Bridge, their Ordnance plaid in the mean time; being placed
on a convenient Hill, lined with hedges and ditches, which lectured their foot
while they kept the Cawsey between our two Meadows. In the meane
time they forced the inhabitants of Cullam, to work at Cullam Bridge to
pull.

pull it down, all but a plank for their men to retreat, in case they could not storm us, supposing thereby to hinder us from pursuing them, stay in the mean time they might fortifie the Lady *Carew's* house, and *Quilnes* Church, which would have been to us an unspeakable annoyance; For this, as I since confest, was their designe, in case they could not carry the Town by storm. The Meadow on each side the Cawsey, was overflowed, yet as last when our Major Generall heard by his Scouts that none stirr'd on Oxford side, he sent for more men, commanding them to make over into both Meadows; and slinke the Enemy on each side, which they did very cheerfully; and upon this quickly not onely cleared the Cawsey, but recovered *Cullam* Bridge from them, and with ease, beat them up to their guns and hedges; and as last from thence also, which Prince *Rupert* chasing at, sent Sir *Henry Gage* with many other Gentlemen, to encourage their men, and stop their flight, where many of them lost their lives, as the Trumpeter come just now from Oxford relates, and sadly protests that it was to them a most curst day. Sir *Henry Gage* himself also is slain, in fine, they could be stayd no longer, but ran gale away, our men were mad to follow them, running up to the middle in the water, which our Major Generall thought improper and unsafe, our horse not being with us, and in respect of the Garrison. For our horse quarters being on that side next *Faringdon*, were at the same time and instant beaten up by 80. of the *Faringdon* horse, made up of 3. Troops, whereof one was the Princes, the successe wherof is as followeth. They were all taken, and slain, and wounded, except 10. or 12. only, whom ours pursued too, within a mile of *Faringdon*. Major *Farmer*, Sir *Hatton Farmer's* Son, and Major of the Princes owne Regiment, was slain upon the place, whose body was this Evening sent for by a Trumpeter from Oxford, and granted, the Princes owne Captain *Lieutenant* was run through the belly by Capt. *Blundell*, Capt. of a Troop in *Coll. Mullins* Regiment, who was seen to kill many others that day with his own hand, and did most gallantly. We took prisoners in abundance, and 5. Irish men among them, who confessed themselves so to be, were presently hanged up in the Market place, according to the Ordinance of Parliament, the first of them as the Ladder turned, cried God Zaunds and died, all of them we re desperate, and lusty Villains. Of all our horse, blessed be God, not one was lost, or any wounded, but Capt. *Blundell* slightly in the face, and two more.

Their main body about 11. of the clock, for from 7. till then we fought, returned home hid for their repulse, as also for the death of Col. *Gage* and many other gallant Genr. and as we are informed, Lieut. Col. *Lewer*, and Major *Wiff* both of *Wallingford*, lost their lives. The Country people averre that besides those they threw into the River and left behind, they carried away 3. Car-

loads.

loads of dead to Oxford, and many on horse-back, and 16. more slain, carried another way; and some to Wallingford. They plundered Cullam most miserably, stripping from diverse women of ranke all their clothes, took from the Lady Cary an ancient Lady sick in her bed, her Rings from her fingers, Watch, and what ever they could carry. We lost no men of note, but Major *Bradbury*, and some 8 or 10 common souldiers, and about 50 wounded: for there are no more under the Chirurg. ons hands, of whom not above 4 or 5 are like to dye, amongst the wounded are none of note but Captaine *Adelwin*, and Captaine *Butterfield*, both gallant men, and of my Lord Generals Army, whose Red-coates did now as gallantly as at Newbery, and indeed all our foot behaved themselves courageously. This Warrant was found in Major *Farmers* pocket when he was dead, signed by Prince *Rupert*, directed to Faringdon, That they should the next morning by break of day, with a strong partie of horse, beat upon our quarters at Sutton, and Wicke, for that himselfe did intend at the same instant to fall on, on the other side of Abbington, And at the bottome of the Warrant was writ, *For Gods sake fail not.*

Prince *Rupert* did promise the King, that he would gain Abbington before noon, and being thus gallantly repulsed, instead of making good his promise, and returning in triumph, and carrying trophees of victory, he came into Oxford with a few men, and marched privately in great discontent, thorough a back street, as being ashamed to shew himselfe to the publique view.

Abbington. Jan 12. 1644.

The House of Commons this day proceeded in the debate of the Treatie, and nomination of Commissioners on our side, to meet the Oxford Lords at Ilxbridge, (which I told you the last Week) should be 4. of the House of Peeres, and 8. of the House of Commons) the List of their names followeth.

Of the House of Peeres, the Earl of Northumberland, the E. of Pembroke, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Denbeigh.

Of the House of Commons, the Lord *Weinmar*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Perepoint*, Mr. *Whitlocks*, Sir *Henry Vane* jun. Mr. *Solliciter Gen.* Mr. *Crow*, Mr. *Friedeaux*.

It was this day reported, that the Portsmouth forces have given a great defeat to Col. *Goring*, which is very good news and if it prove true, you will have the particulars very shortly: But for that before related, concerning that valiant and faithfull Commander Major Generall *Brown*, you need not question, for it was ratified this day by Letters to the Committee of both Kingdomes, and to the Lord Generall.



Jan. 15. 1644.

London:

A COPIE

OF A



LETTER,

Written by *John Lilburne* Leut. Collonell.
To *Mr. William Prinne* Esq.

(UPON THE COMING OUT OF HIS LAST BOOKE, IN-
titled *Truth triumphing over Falshood, Antiquity over Novelty*)
In which he laies down five Propositions, which he desires
to discusse with the said Mr. Prinne.

Sir,
YOU and I have both been *Sufferers*, by the hands of the
Prelates, the common and open Enemies of Christs King-
dome; and the eyes of the people of God are therefore the
more upon us, and are subject with lesse jealousie to re-
ceive those things that come from us for truth, not imitating the
noble Bishops, who dayly searched the Scripture, to see whether those
things they heard, were according therunto or no, *Acts 17. 11.* the
Law and the Testimony of Christ being the straight Rule, by which we
are to walke especially in matters of worship, and whosoever he be
that practises and speaks not according to this Rule, *as is because there*
is no light of truth in him, Es 48. 20. I have seen some of your late *wri-*
tings,

things, which a little diving into, I have found them full of bitter and unflavoury Language against the poore Saints of God, and the unspotted waies of Iesus Christ, and finding your Confidence very great but your Arguments very weake and unsound (having received a Talent from the Lord, I conceived my self bound in Conscience to imploy it, and lay it out for my Masters best advantage) and I was determined some weekes since, to have writ you a few lines in a publique way, and to have told you, *you erre not knowing the Scriptures. Math. 22. 29.* (but being that you, and the *Blacke-Coates* in the Synod, have not dealt fairly with your Antagonists in stopping the Presse against us, while things are in debate, yea robbing us of our Liberty (as we are Subjects) in time of freedom, when the Parliament is sitting, who are sufficiently able to punish that man (whatsoever he be) that shall abuse his penne. So that while we are with the hazard of our dearest lives, fighting for the Subjects Liberty, we are brought into *Egyptian* bonds in this and other particulars, by the *Blacke-Coates*, who I am affraid, will prove more cruell Taskmasters then their dear fathers the Bishops: who Cowardly sit at home, in my apprehension, for no other end but to breed faction and division amongst the well affected to the Parliament, promoting thereby their owne interest, which is *Envy*, *Pride*, *Covetousnes* and *Domination*, endeavouring to lay lower then the dust a generation of men whom they falsely call *Sectaries*, that have in the uprightness of their hearts without *Syodianlike* ends, ventred all they have in the world for the good of the Parliament, and the Common-wealth of England, and who may bid defiance to all their Adversaries that brand them with unfaithfulness. so that by means of which, I have not been able that way yet, to accomplish my earnest desire: and truly it argues no manhood nor valour in you nor the *Blacke-Coates*, by force to throw us downe and ty our hands, & then to fall upon us to beat and buffet us, for if you had not bene men that had been affraid of your cause, you would have been willing to have fought and contended with us upon even ground and equall termes, namely that the Presse might be as open for us as for you, and as it was at the beginning of this Parliament, which I conceive the Parliament did of purpose, that so the freeborne English sub-

Subjects might enjoy their Liberty and Priviledge, which the Bishops had learned of the *Spanish Inquisition* to rob them of, by locking it up under the Key of an *Impimatur*, in whose tyrannicall steps the Synod treads, so that you and they thinke you may raile at us *our privilegio*, and ranke us amongst the worst and basest of men, as rooters up of Parliaments and disturbers of States and Common weales, and so thinke so carry it away without controule, but it may be you will be mistaken, for though wee cannot print so fast as you, we can speake and lay downe as strong Arguments for our selves, as you can for your selves, and therefore being desirous to try a fall with you, though one of your freinds not long since told me, *there was as great disproportion betwixt you and me, to write upon controverting the things of God, as there is betwixt a tall Cedar and a litle shrub*: unto which I replied, *goe you, and tell the tall Cedar, the litle Shrub will have about with him*: And therefore, that I may be as good as my word, I send you these ensuing Propositions, upon which I will dispute with you, hand to hand before any Auditory in and about the City of London when and where you will chuse, giving me foure or five dayes warning before hand.

First, That the Ordinances, Lawes, Rights and Ceremonies of the Church of the Jewes were types and figures, which were only to last and endure till the coming of Christ, which he by his death did abolish, Gen. 49.10. John 1.9.30. Acts 15.24.29. & 21.21:28. Heb.7.11:12. & 10.1. and he himselfe with his Institutions in the New Testament are the Antitypes of them, Acts 3.22. Heb.1.8. & 6.20. & 7.17.18.19. & 8.1.2.6. & 9.11.12.

Secondly, That Jesus Christ being appointed by God his Father to be Mediatour, hath a Kingdome given unto him, Dan. 2. 13.14. Mat. 2.2 & 28.18. Luke 1.32.33. Heb.1.8. which he hath erected, and set up in the world, amongst his Saints, where visibly and spiriually he governeth, ruleth and dwelleth, Psal. 2. 6. 22. 27. 28: and 46. 4: and 48.1.&c. & 132. 13:14. Esa.6.9.7.&33.23. and according to that trust the

the Father hath reposed in him Acts 3. 22. 23. he hath been faithfull to every thing required of him, Heb. 3. 25. compared with Exod. 29. 43. and unto this his visible Kingdome by his last Will and Testament he hath bequested perfect and compleate Lawes, which are unalterable and unchangable, in all times, ages and places by any of the sonnes of men, Acts 1. 3. 2 Thes. 2. 15. 1 Tim. 6. 13. 14. 20. 2 Tim. 3. 15. 16. 17. Heb. 10. 28. 29. & 12. 25.

Thirdly, that the matter, forme, Lawes, Worship, Ordinances and Administrations of this Kingdome are not carnall, nor of this world, but all and every one of them spirituall, John. 4. 22. 23. & 18. 36. Act. 1. 15. & 2. 41. 47. & 11. 23. 24. Rom. 1. 7. 1 Cor. 1. 2. & ch. 5. 2 Cor. 2. 6. 7. 8.

Fourthly, that no Parliament, Councell, Synod, Emperour, King, nor Majestrate hath any spirituall Authority, or jurisdiction over this Kingdome, or the Subjects thereof, Mat. 20. 25. 27. 1 Cor. 4. 5. Ephes. 1. 21. 22. 23. and 5. 24. 25. Col. 4. 17. 1 Pet. 6. 5. 3. Rev. 17. 17.

Fifthly, that to persecute for conscience is not of nor from God, but of and from the Diuell, and Antichrist, Esa. 2. 3. 4. & 11. 6. 7. 9. Misah 4. 2. 3. Luke 9. 54. 55. 2 Cor. 10. 4. 1 Tim. 1. 20. Rev. 13. 2. 4. 15. 16. 17.

Sir, In your last Booke that you put out, you spend a great deale of paines in citing old rusty Authours, to prove that Kings, Councels, Synods and States have for so many hundred yeares meddled with matters of Religion, I grant you they have; but I demand of you, by what Right, or by what Authority out of the Word of God they have so done? Hath God the Father, or Jeus Christ his Son given them any allowance in this? Or have they not hereby rather fulfilled the Propheties of the Scripture, which saith, (Rev. 17. 17.) that the Kings of the Earth shall give their power unto the Beast, till the Word of God be fulfilled, which they have done in assisting the Pope, to joine the Ecclesiasticall and Civill State together, making the golden Lawes of Christ, to depend upon the leaden Lawes of man; yea, upon such Lawes, as was just futable to their tyrannicall lusts, and which might the most advance their wicked ends and designs, and in the doing of this, they have set up a perfect Antichrist against Gods Christ: yea, England is not free from this; for though King Henry the eight did shake of the Popes Supremacy, yet by the advice of the Clergie

Clergie, the sworne enemies of Jesus Christ, he assumed the same, calling himselfe *Head in all causes Ecclesiasticall and Civill*, and so though he iusted out the Pope, he set himselfe in the Throne of Christ, and his Successours have done the same, for opposing of which, the Saints that were burnt in Queen *Maries* dayes have not only smarted, but also those that were hanged and murdered in Prisons in Queen *Elizabeths* dayes, and those that were banished and destroyed in King *James* his dayes, and my selfe and many others, that have suffred worse then death in King *Charles* his dayes, and this is the great Contrersio, that God contends with the whole Earth for, and for which God will make the greatest of Princes and States to *tast a Cup of trembling*, yea, and to *drinke the dregs of his fury and wrath*; for he will give people and Nations for his Saints, *Esa. 43.3.4.14.* And it *England* drinke yet deeper of this Cup, amongst other causes, they may thanke Mr. *Brinne* for it who hath incited them to wage war with the King of Saints, (and his redeemed ones) who will *dast all the Nations of the Earth in peeces* in being revenged of them, for that which they have done unto them already in this particular, *Rev. 18.ch. 19.1.2.* For Sir, let me tell you, it is the incommunicable Prerogative of Jesus Christ alone to be King of his Saints, and Law-giver to his Church and people, and to raigne in the soules and consciences of his chosen ones, it being too high a throne for all the creatures in the world to raigne in; and therefore, were your eyes but open, it would make you quake and tremble, to consider what you have done, in endeavouring to set the Potentates of the Earth together by the eares with Christ (who is to rule all Nations, *Rev. 12.5.*) to plucke his Crowne from his head, his Scepter out of his hand, and his Person out of his Throne of State, than his Father hath given him to raigne gloriously in.

Oh Sir! consider the time is not long, before Jesus Christ will come againe in glory triumphantly, and say it out of his own mouth before the eyes of the Sonnes of men, *bring those raine enemies before me, that will not have me to rule over them, that I may slay them, Luke 19.17.*

Sir, If your Positions be true, that there is no rule left in the world, *bowne my worship God, but that Kings and States may set up what* *Religion*

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... (96) ...
... they please, or may mould it to the manners of their people;
... Queen Mary did justifiably in burning the Saints in her dayes,
that would not stoope and submit to that Religion she and her Par-
liament had set up: Truly, had I not seen your name to your Bookes,
I should rather have judged them a Papists or a Jesuites than Mr.
Prinse, and without doubt the Pope when he sees them will Canoni-
ze you for a Saint, for throwing downe his enemy Christ, who
you say, hath been lesse faithfull then Moses, and so had need of
the Pope, or some others to supply what he hath been deficient in;
Surely you have given away your ears, & suffered as a busie body in op-
posing the King and the Prelates: without all doubt, all is not gold
that glitters; for were you not a man, that had more then truth to
looke after, namely your owne ends and particular interest, which I
am afraid you strive more to set up then a publike good, you should
rather importuned the Parliament, to have continued their favours
and respects to that people, that cannot prostrate their consciences
to mans devices though never so great and famous; (and who yet
with their bodies and estates to the utmost of their power, yea and
divers of them beyond their abilities) have done the Parliament as
sincere, upright, faithfull and good service as either your selfe or a-
ny generation of men in England whatsoever they be) then to en-
force them to destroy them: But truly the Son of God, and his
Saints (those beloved Jewels of his) are but a litle beholden to you,
that will not suffer his ransomed ones to enjoy the Liberty of their
Conscience to serve their Lord and King, that hath bought them with
his owne blood, [are you not in this as cruel a Taskmaster as Pha-
raoh] nor to have footing in the Land of their Nativty, though
Christ himselfe hath given them a true right to all things present in
this world, and all things in that is to come, 1 Cor. 2. 21. 22. 23.
and they themselves (many thousand of them) have endeavoured
more then your selfe to redeem their native Countrey from bondage
and slavery with their dearest blood: And therefore I say, the Lord
judge betwixt you and us in this particular.

Sir, It may be instead of satisfying my desire, you'll run and com-
plaine to the Parliament; and presse them upon their Covenant to
take vengeance upon me, if you doe I weigh it not; for I blesse God

I am

I am fittid to doe, or suffer whatsoever the Parliament shall impose upon me, but if you do, take these two along with you.

First, That I am not against the Parliaments setting up a State-Government for such a Church as they shall thinke fit, to make the generallity of the Land members of, for I for my part leave them to themselves, to doe what they shall thinke good, so that they leave my Conscience free to the Law and Will of my Lord and King.

Secondly, If you put them in mind of their Covenant, tell them, I thinke they have sworne to root out all Popery, and therefore have lately abolished the Common Prayer (that great Idoll) but yet have established Tythes, &c. the very root and support of popery, which I humbly conceive, is a contradiction to their Covenant, and which wilbe a greater snare then the Common Prayer to many of the precious consciences of Gods people, whose duty is in my judgement, to dye in a prison before they act or stoop unto so dishonourable a thing as this is to their Lord and Master, as to maintaine the Blacke-coates with Tythes, whom they looke upon as the professed enemies of their Anointed Christ, he that pays Tythes, is bound to the whole Law of Tythes, in which there was a Lambe to be brought for a Sin-offering, which is abolished; also he that was to take Tythes, was one that was to offer sacrifice dayly for sin, which if any do so now it is to deny Christ come in the flesh, and to be the alone sacrifice for sin by his death, and so overthrow all our comfort, joy and hope. So desiring to receive your Answer to the things I propound to you, I rest

LONDON, this 7. Jan.

1645. 1644.

Yours more then you are
the Truities

JOHN LILBURNE.

FINIS.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the above matter. I have the honor to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration. I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
John W. Adams



I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the above matter. I have the honor to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration. I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
John W. Adams

FOR DOUBLING 7/10
1857

Yours very truly,
John W. Adams

JOHN W. ADAMS

THIRTEEN



Numb. 86



(783) 23
*A Fierious assault made against Plymouth
by Sir Rich. Greenville with 6000 horse
and foot on Thursday last; his taking three
of the works; his being repulsed thence by
the Townsmen, many of his forces slain,
and divers taken prisoners. The taking of
a ship belonging to one of Scarborough
Pyrates by the Governor of Harlepoolle,
and therein 2 Bresse pieces of Ordnance,
4 Iron pieces, and 7 murderers, with
much Armes and Ammunition. A fuller*

*relation of the defeat given to the Kings forces at Abingdon. Sir Wil.
Waller to advance into the West with 6000 horse. Pontefract castle be-
sieged by Sir Tho. Fairfax, and his danger of being slain by a Cannon bul-
let from the Castle.*

Mercurius Cīvīcus.
LONDON'S
INTELLIGENCER



OR,
Truth impartially related from
thence to the whole Kingdome,
to prevent mis-information.

From Thursday January 9. to Thursday January 16. 1644.



Hat which was first presented to publique view since
my last, was the beheading of that grand Incen-
diary of the three Kingdomes *William Laud* late
Archbishop of Canterbury, concerning which it
would be thought unnecessary to make any large
narration, for that it hath beene already mentio-
ned by other intelligencers: but in regard it hath been already my
for

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for so often formerly to impart severall relations of his triall in the house of Peeres, and that it is the last time that (I beleeeve) I shall have occasion to mention him; I shall the rather crave leave to observe some passages concerning his execution.

On Friday last *Janu. 10.* (about twelve a clocke) the Archbishop of Canterbury was brought from the Tower attended by the Lieutenant and Officers belonging thereunto. At his comming he made his last Sermon or *ultimum valedictum* on the Scaffold, which you have already published. Upon the conclusion whereof and of two short prayers, and the saying of these words, *Lord receive my spirit*, the executioner parted his head from his body at one stroke. A cloud attended the time of execution, but the Sun was splendent as soone as his head was off.

The fancies or conjectures of the multitude concerning this breaking forth of the Sunne are various, and are formed according to the severall dispositions of the persons framing; (although for my owne part I cannot looke upon it as any matter extraordinary) yet, for the satisfaction of some I shall briefly mention three of the most probable and rationall publike conjectures.

1. That which was brought by the Episcopall and malignant party was, *That the Sun did before (as abhorring such an act) hide it selfe in a cloud till the act was done, and then shone forth in its lustre.*

A second, (and those the more moderate, and well-affected party observed,) *That the Sun, immediately after his execution, shone forth in much brightnesse, as rejoycing and triumphing to behold such an exemplary and necessary act of justice inflicted upon so eminent and notorious a delinquent.*

A third party, *That it did portend or prognosticate, That the light of the Gospel that hath been heretofore so much eclipsed by the interposition of this Archbishop and his instruments should now be displayed and discover it selfe in its beauty and brightnesse.*

I shall leave the issue of these conjectures or constructions to the omnipotent and omniscient disposer of all things, and shall now trouble you no more with his *quondam* little *Grace of Canterbury*, then this: That as in his life time (*usque ad momentum mortis*) even to his dying houre, he had contented himselfe with set formes and models, his prayer which he said immediately after his speech on the Scaffold being before penned and contrived by himselfe, so he
wanted

wanted not an ocean or deluge of Common-prayer to waite him to his place. The prayers were rehearsed, and also an oration concerning his death was made by one *Fletcher* at his interring in *Barking Church neere Tower-hill* the same day.

One passage which was this weeke advertised from Banbury I cannot pretermitt which is this : *That Sir William Compton brother to the Earle of Northampton*, having lately procured a Commission from His Majesty to bee Governour of Banbury Castle that thereby as hee pretended hee might favour his Tenants who before, had refused to pay him rent (*Compton* house being his inheritance, as also a great part of the Lands thereabouts) came lately to the Castle, shewing his authority : *Greene* a Broker Taylor then governour thereof (though unwillingly was enforced to quit his government. And thereupon went to Oxford in expectation to be employed by his Majesty in some other command ; being come to Oxford he sent for divers Trunks and some other goods which hee had left at Banbury Castle which were all sent him, except only one Trunke which (being more waighty then all the rest) Sir *William* thought good to detain : three being indeed therein great store of money and plate which the said *Greene* had got together by plunder from the Townes and places adjacent The detaining whereof was so much distastd by *Greene* that through discontent thereof and his being displaced from the said government, (in the keeping whereof he had done His Majesty such faithfull service) that he immediatly after died at Oxford, so that both *Greene's* government of the Castle and his trunk of plunder are now in the possession of Sir *Wil. Compton* till the Parliaments forces came to disseise him of both.

Cambden house in Worcester-shire (being a most curious and stately edifice (*built of silkes by Sir Baptist Hicks*) is not burnt down by the Cavaliers as was by some a while since published, but it is certaine that the Cavaliers have burnt down Cranfield house at Milton a gallant and rare structure (not much inferiour to the other) belonging to the Earle of Middlesex within a mile thereof.

The last weeke Captaine *Hastings Kiss* came with a Troope of Horse and 300 Foote into Cambden, where they are yet quartered.

There hath beene lately a designe in some parts of the Parliaments Army and some places in the association to raise and foment differences and disturbances in both places by gathering hands and subscriptions to petitions against the *Independents*, which being happily discovered a speedy course will be taken against the fomenters & contrivers of it: It was a frequent and usuall argument of the heathen Romans of old against the Primitive Christians that they were the only causers of divisions and dissentions amongst them, but upon all occasions of exigency or extremity the Emperours ever found those Christians most willing and ready to assist them against the Common Enemy, and they were ever observed to be the most successfull and prosperous in their attempts, and undertakings: Although afterwards it was usuall with those ungreatefull Emperours to reward, repay, requite and remunerate all their famous services and trophes or triumphes of honour, victory and renowne, with ignominious and cruell Deaths and Massacres.

On Saturday last *Jan. 11.* There came intelligence to the Parliament of the taking at Sea by one of the ships that rides before *Liverpoole* severall Irish Commissioners, who were employed by His Majesty (as is reported) about the bringing over some Irish hither, the names of the chiefe persons of note then taken were: *L. Brabazon* and his servants, *Sir Henry Tuckburne*, *Sir James Ware*, *Mr. Wakefield*, *Mr. Robert Price*, *Mr. Tho. Williams*, *Mr. John Smith*, *Mr. Alex. Nugent*, *Mr. Ralph Holland*, *Patrick Price*, and divers Merchants, and they and the papers found about them are arrived here at *London*, you will heare more, perhaps some further deeds of darkenesse will be brought to publick light. They were sent from *Col. John Moore* governour of *Liverpoole* to *Capt. Swanley*, and are bringing up in *Capt. Guachmans* ship.

The same day we had intelligence out of *Wales*, That the forces under Major Gen. *Laugborne* had taken *Cardigan Town*, and within three dayes after by continuall battery of the Castle made a breach therein through which he entered with his forces and possessed himselfe of all the Ordnance, Arms, and Ammunition.

On Munday *Jan. 12.* The house of Commons, according to their order made on Saturday, went up to the house of Peeres with the message to move them to passe the Ordinance for disabling of members of Parliament for any civill or military office granted by Parliament

ment, which the Lords accordingly taking into consideration, after some debate thereof rejected the Ordinance.

Also the same day the house of Commons finished all their votes upon the new forming of an Army, what number of horse and foote, how many in every regiment and what proportion each country is to maintaine monthly, which Ordinance is to be brought into the house on Wednesday next, by which time, I shall be furnished to give you a further account thereof.

On Tuesday Jan. 14. The house of Commons resumed the debate of the Treaty and proceeded to the nomination of Commissioners for that house (as the Lords had done for theirs the day before:) the names of the members of both houses and the Scots Commissioners which are appointed to Treat in the behalfe of both Kingdomes are: Of the house of Peeres: The E. Northumberland, the E. of Pembroke, and Mountgomery, the E. of Salisbury and the E. of Denbigh; Of the Commons, the Lord Wenman, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Pierrepont, Mr. Whistock; Sir Henry Vane Junior, Mr. St. John Solicitor Gen. Mr. Crow and Mr. Prideaux one of the Commissioners of the great Seale: for the Scots Commissioners, they are not yet concluded on.

This day there came certaine intelligence by Letters to the Committee of both Kingdomes, and from Major Generali Brown to his Excellency the Lord Generall, of a defeate given His Majesties forces neere Abbington on saturday last Jan. 11. the particulars whereof by a Letter from an Officer in that service are thus fully communicated:

Sir, I shall present you with an account of the enemies attempt against Otho Garrison, and of the success thereupon. A great party of horse and foot gathered from Oxford, Wallingford, Whitney, and other the enemies quarters round about, consisting (as we understand) of 800. horse, and 1000 foot under the command of Pr. Rupert Pr. Maurice, Sir Henry Gage Governour of Oxford, and many Oxford Gentlemen attending him to see the issue, fell upon us this morning early on Culham side, with intent to storme us: they gained Culham bridge, where our Major-general kept a Centry about halfe a mile from us, and presently set the Countrey so cut it down, so prevent our pursuit of them in case they should be forced backe making use of plankes for their owne retreat upon the alarm. But our
Major

Major-general having notice of their intention, drew forth a party to fight with them to prevent the cutting down of the bridge, having first sent on Scouts on the other side of the Town to secure our works, but by reason the causeway was long and narrow he was forced to send some of his men into the meades, who cheerfully marched through the water, and so flanked the enemy on both sides. The enemy fought it stoutly, and plied us with their Ordnance, which they brought along with them, and had planted on a convenient hill fitted with hedges and ditches, which secured their foot, and found no lesse courage in ours, as the issue proved. The dispute lasted almost foure houres; at length we gained the bridge ere they had quite broke it down, and forced them to the hedges and bankes adjacent, which proved of singular advantage to them, but those places proved too hot for them, and they allowed us to beat them out of the field, notwithstanding the disadvantages we fought upon. Upon clearing the causeway and recovering of Culham bridge, the enemy fled up to their guns and hedges, and at last our forces beat them from thence; at which Pr. Rupert chasing, sent Sir Henry Gage, Lieutenant-Col. Lower, and divers other Gentlemen, to encourage their men, and to stay their flight, where many of them lost their lives, amongst whom were Sir Henry Gage, Lieut. Col. Lower, deputy-governour of Wallingford, and Major West a Commander there, besides divers other souldiers who are much lamented by them, but especially Sir Henry Gage, who they esteemed one of His Majesties best souldiers, having performed divers good services for him; for this Gage about June 12 last tooke in Borstall house, then a garrison of the Parliaments in Buckinghamshire. Also, Sept. 11. following, he went with a party from Oxford and relieved Basinghouse, when it had been besieged 18 weekes by our forces. Had it been proper or secure, in respect of the garrison, our gallant Major-general would have followed them; but they hasted away about 11. of the clocke, (for from 7. till then we fought) with three Carri laden with dead men, besides many thrown into the River, and others carried on their horse backe. Their designe, as we now understand, was, if they could not storme us, then (by pulling up the bridge) to prevent our binding them to fortifie the Lady Careys house and the Church in Culham, which would have proved of evill consequence, and much annoyance to us, but they were prevented.

We lost of men onely Major Bradbury, a very gallant man, who was slain upon the bridge, and seven or eight common souldiers at most, and had some wounded: Cap. Melvin, and Cap. Butterfield are wounded, but wish-

out danger, of whom I must say, and of his Excellencies foot (who we kept for our reserve) they behaved themselves with singular courage.

At the same precise time in the morning the enemies horse, about 80, made out of three Troops, whereof one was the Princes, from Farringdon, fell on our horse quarters; they found our men in a more ready posture then they expected: the alarm was presently taken at all the quarters, being very neere together; and they came together, beat the enemy out of the Town, chased them within a mile of Farringdon, and in pursuit slew, wounded, and tooke prisoners almost all, without any losse at all. Major Farmor, Major to Prince Charles regiment was slain, and his Lieutenant, with many others. Major Farmour his body was this evening sent for by a Trumpeter from Oxford, and granted, there was a warrant found in this Majors pocket signed with Pr. Rupert, That they should the next morning by break of day with a strong party of horse beat upon our quarters at Sutton and Wick, for that himselfe did intend to fall on on the other side of Abingdon. Five of this regiment we tooke were Irish by their owne confession, whom our Major general presently caused to be hanged in the market place, according to an Ordinance of Parliament. Cap. Blunden in Col. Martins regiment deserves much for his courage in this service, he ran the Princes owne Captain-lieutenant through the belly, and was seen to kill many others that day with his own hand.

One of the Messengers from Oxford informeth us that Pr. Rupert engaged himselfe to the King and Lords, that he would have Abbingdon on Saturday before twelve a clock at noone, but missing his hopes he was ashamed to march into Oxford with the forces that returned, but came in privately another way, and there the Lords mock't him, and askt him where is Abbingdon, that he boasted he would so suddenly have. But we gave them such a break fast, that I think he will have little stomack hereafter to come and visit our noble Gen. Brown.

Abbingdon, Jan. 11. 1644.

But that it may further appeare how ready the enemy are to take advantage upon all occasions, and how concurrent their designs are against our garrisons (notwithstanding the intended Treaty) (a faire president for our Commanders) wee had the same day intelligence, that skellum Greeneville having gathered all the forces he could raise in Cornewall and other parts of the West did on Thursday Jan. 9. about 11 a clock at night, make a furious assault against Plymouth, and indeavoured to storme it on all parts, with neere

6000

to men hands, as by
und us, by making an

6000 horse and foot who tooke three of the outworks belonging to that garrison, out of two of which they were quickly breaten, but held the third called *little Penny quicke* for some space, and began to scale or rather digge downe another fort called *great Penny quicke*, till at last by the courage of the Garrison Souldiers they were inforced to quit that too with very great losse, the garrison having the pursuit of them for a great way cut off almost two whole regiments, and routed the rest, killing in all (as is reported) about a thousand of the enemy. But by this we may see what need there is to supply that garrison both with store of provisions, and of Souldiers for that if the enemy should (according to their designe) get it in their possession we might soon bid adew to the West.

By Letters out of Yorkshire it is advertised, That a ship belonging to one *Denton* a great Pirate of Scarborough was lately driven in by distresse of weather into Hartlepoole in the bishoprick of Durham, whereupon it was seised for the Parliament with all its lading: There was in this ship two brasse peeces of Ordnance foure Iron peeces, and seven murtherers besides much Armes and Ammunition.

Centrefract Cattie is still closely besieged by the L. *Fairesfax* his forces: Sir *Thomas Fairesfax* was lately in great danger of being shot by a Canon bullet from the Castle, which came betweene him and Colonell *Forbes*; the waist of it feld Sir *Thomas* to the ground, and spoyled one side of the Colonells face and eyes. Our forces are in great probability of taking of it, and will be able no doubt speedily to requite those in the Castle for their obstinacy and insolency.

On Wednesday Jan. 15. The house of Peeres sent downe a List to the house of Commons of the attendants which are to waite upon these Lords of their house that are to Treat at Uxbridge, and the safe conduct will be speedily sent to His Majesty.

The same day the house of Commons voted; That a party of 6000 horse and foote should speedily advance into the West under the command of Sir *Wil. Waller* till such time as he shall have further order, that is, till such time as the grand Ordinance for calling in Members be agreed on by both houses; in the meane time no opportunity will be let slip to waite upon *Goring* who is gone from Portsmouth towards the West.

FINIS.

London, Printed for *The Bates* at the signe of the Mryden-head
on Snow-hill neere the Conduit. And 1773 in the
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Numb. 82.

THE
PARLIAMENT
SCOVV:
Communicating His Intelligence
TO THE
KINGDOME.

1644
From Thursday the 9. of January to Thursday the 16. of January. 1647.

Thursday the 9. of January.

THE Commons having the day before Voted, that the reasons sent down from the Lords, were unparliamentary, the usuall way being either to throw out the Bill or Ordinance, or amend it, and send it with those amendments: Desired the Lords this day at a Conference, that they would be pleased to give a sudden answer in the thing, and that among other reasons, because the Kings powers grow upon us severall wayes, and indeed it concernes us to go speedily, and unanimously in the work, if we either intend to deliver the Kingdom from utter ruine, or to procure a good peace; and whereas there is a jealousie fomented by the Malignant party, and such as too much favour them, that the government as to Monarchy is intended to be altered, if the vulgar get power into their hands, as by this Ordinance they will: This is but a delusion to undo us, by making and fomenting differences; for certainly if the people

ple of *England* were put to subscribe as to alteration in those things, there would not be one of a thousand, that will go that way; a good King, and good Lords that will mannage things so, as that the Lawes be the rule to all, and incourage all, that are most forward that way, and to have the Protestant Religion incouraged, Popery discouraged; this will content, yea, delight the people; a thousand woes be to those that are contrary minded.

This day there was some progresse made into the way of raising the 20000 horse and foot, as 600. out of *London* and *Middlesex*, 3000. in *Essex*, 3000. in *Kent*, and so proportionable; likewise care is taking, as to the way of constant pay; but this is nothing, unless we get the Ordinance, that so things as to Command may be settled.

We had news this day, that Coll. *Massey* had visited old Sir *Jacob* at *Cyrencester*, and frighted his worship out of his new quarters and fortifications, as far as *Vitney*, which is good news if true: That some small parties of horse also, are frighted neerer *Oxford*: that more Irish are come from *Bristol*: that many Ordinance are new monted in *Oxford*: that parties of Col. *Browns* interrupted *Oxford* Market & have plundered a house of a Doctors neer *Oxford*. That the party of *Gorings* are many of them taken out of the Western Garrisons: that the enemy makes excursions into *Sussex*: That there is a fear that *Greenvill* hath taken 260. of the *Plymouth* forces, hanged 30. and stript the rest.

That P. *Maurice* is forthwith to go towards *Chester*: That the 8. Carts that Coll. *Ludlow* missed came into *Oxford* Saturday last, laden with Powder, Bullet, and Money from *Bristol*: That a party from *Compton* house, beat up some of the enemies quarters at long *Hamborough* Sunday last, and made them flie to *Oxford*: That the party about *Banbury* is lessened, by parties drawn from it.

Friday the 10. of January.

THE Commons sent to the Lords, to desire all expedition in the great Ordinance, the Lords promised all speed, and according did take the matter into consideration, and resolved upon an Answer, to be given in the next day: A Petition was delivered from the Bishop of *Canterbury*, he desired that his servants might not be put to the charge of buriall, and intimated, that he had contracted some debts above the allowance, he had for maintenance.

This day was a happy day in the Assembly, for there was a unanimous agreement both of Presbyterians, and Independants in the point of excommunication: If they agree as well in that, of how far men shall be compelled in matters of Religion, and what in Religion is fit to be tolerated, all the great differences will be so settled, as in all probability, we shall

shall live together in an excellent harmony and accord, how ever the present jealousies now, too much retard the publike service.

This day we had news, that the Souldiers about *Bostacke* house, going a Plundering, were met by a party of horse of *Alesbury*, about fifty horse taken, and some 25. men, that the Kings forces threaten to go get contributions about *Henley* side; but we hope to be ready to disturbe them: That the forces that were about *Banbury* of the Kings, are gone upon some designe, being about 2500. horse and foot: That *P. Rupere* is gone out with a Regiment of horse from *Oxford*, which way, time will shew, and to what party he will address.

That some of *Northampton* and *Newport* forces took neer *Charleton* about 80. horse of the enemies, and frighted the rest: That *Gerards* forces quarters in *Worcestershire*, are called into *Northamptonshire*, that *Banbury* is well appointed, and provided of horse and foot: That 200. horse of the *Wallingford* party were Plundering upon the Downs neer *Abingdon*; we hope we shall meet with them: That the enemy begins to plunder in *Northamptonshire*, and intend to gather contribution: That *Coll. Massey* did not disturbe those at *Cyreneester*.

Its said at *Oxford*, that if the Treaty conclude nothing, that they will fetch in within command of the Garrisons all provisions for horse and man, both out of *Oxford*, and *Buckinghamshire*: That great store of Wines, Armes, and Ammunition is come from *Bristoll* to *Oxford*: that the enemy intends to straiten *Abington*, but we shall take care to prevent that by some diversion we hope.

This day the Bishop of *Canterbury* was beheaded, he read a long speech and prayer upon the Scaffold, he said he died a Protestant, but what he meant by a Protestant, or intended under the name of Protestant, to introduce in his life none could ever tell, was it ever heard that a Cardinals Hat was offered to a Protestant? he said, that his Majesty was not Popishly intended; which if he was not, its no thanks to him, for no doubt he, and many others plotted all they could to make him one: aske my Lord of *Bristoll*, and Bishop *Wren* what was intended, when in *Spain* so many Jesuites, and Friars, were sent in to his Majesty: the Duke of *Buckingham* and *Canterburys* good Lord, clapping them on the back as they went in, saying, if you now do not your business, you are but a company of fooles: indeed his Majesty hath been unhappy in favourites; God deliver him from them, and place better about him: Its a wonder he hath not been turned; yea, almost a miracle, considering his temptations.

Saturday the 11 of January.

THe Lords let the Commons understand that they were of opinion, that the reasons they sent were Parliamentary, and gave instance, and desired they might be so looked upon : The Commons seems not to be pleased therewith, and therefore resolved to go unanimously to the Lords Monday, and demand the passing of it, and there is a necessity that things be resolved one way or other, for the enemy as it was this day certified, hath drawn all their forces towards Portsmouth, about 6000. horse and foot ; and as we hear have got neer the Iland, and go furiously upon the businesse, which at this season is very strange ; we do not fear the Town for Col.^l *Epson* speaks himself by Letter in a good posture, being accompanied by Coll. *Norton* with 400. horse ; that which is most feared, is that they may gaine some place to spoile the harbour, or make some Fortification that they cannot go abroad, as they have done at Plimouth.

We had news this day that we have good success in Wales, and that we have taken some places, which some say will fetch back Coll. *Gerard* : There is news also of some small Skirmishes about Newarke, and that that Town is straitned, but their body of horse is so great, that they make too far, and too frequent excursions.

Also we have news that Captain *Swanley* hath taken a ship, and in it severall Irish Commissioners, which is not so much, as certain ; Letters and instructions, which the Captain saith are of that concernment, that they are not fit to be sent without a Convoy ; these Commissioners we will not say had a designe for the Protestant Religion, but yet that might be, for if a Treaty go forward, it may be the future overtures may be in favour of them, and yet we hear also that there are many thousands intended from Ireland, either for this Kingdom or Scotland ; which is much more likely, then that 300. French Gentlemen should come from Calice, where they were merry and in plenty, to Dover to be pounded, nor do we think his Majestie would trust Dover in French hands ; the French can make better Markets in Flanders, then at Dover.

This day we heard the Cassation is almost out in Lencaeshire, between them and the enemy : we hear that there is great preparations made by Sir *Will. Brereton* to assist his friends if any enemy come into Wales, as its feared, as well as he is very solicitous to have some forces to quarter upon the Welch side of Westchester.

This day we heard that his Graces Sermon, and Prayer at his death was to come out at large in Print, and the reason is given, they that took it in short writing must get some money, well, put that in one scale, and what

what if his Sermon make obstinate thousands of the Parliaments enemies, and do hurt upon some of their moderate friends, and put that in the other Scale, believe it, the Malignants will go neer to use the prayer instead of the Common Prayer book, as he did that read the Churching of women for a thanksgiving for the Butchers recovery, after his being goared with an Ox; and for his Sermon, that cannot go for lesse then a Homily to be read yearly, every 10. of *January*: Let it be observed to after ages the Royall party in *London*, do lay to heart the death of the Irish Rebel that was hanged, drawn, and quartered, and the death of his Grace of *Canterbury*, and the Common Prayer Book, more ten thousand times then ever they did the wound given to our Religion, Liberties, and Parliaments in the 15. years before this Parliament begun.

Monday the 13. of January.

THE house of Commons went to desire halt in the Ordinance for exemption of Members: which the Lords did, and cast it out: The Commons agreed upon the matter of pay from every County for the new molded Army.

This day we had news from about Taunton, as that the enemy grows numerous, 1500. horse, and as many foot, and straitens Col. *Hoborne*, that the Castle of the *Devizes* is only fortified, that our forces are got againe into Christ-Church, that most of the Kings garrisons are employed at this time, and why, no wise man can tell, unless they have some plot upon some of our Towns, expect some great revolt from us, or take notice of our divisions: That Major *Vigmore* was killed when Col. *Hoborne* fell upon those at Bridgewater: That the enemy coming into Gosper, fired 21. houses, that they have driven all Hampshire where they have come, of all manner of horse, beasts, sheep, and swine, not any that smelt of the Parliament hath any thing left, this will be sad to our men who are there and shall come that way.

That the 11. instant the Governour of Portsmouth understanding that the enemy was drawne off from the bridge that goes to Portsmouth, went abroad with some 140 horse to clear the Country of straglers, and fell upon a quarter of the enemy, killed divers, returned with about ten wounded and some 20 horse: That the Kings forces are come to Winchester, which is the head quarter, the horse are quartered about Andover, Gen. *Goring* hath the chiefe command of all that P. *Maurice* had.

That our forces begin to appear, and make as if they would come together, and though the season permits them not to passe so speedily, yet we hope in few dayes to send Gen. *Goring* farther back, and indeed there is now a necessity for the redeeming of our friends about Taunton.

This day his Graces Sermon came out in print: The Malignants say we are not willing to give men leave to speak their minde, Shew us two such presidents in *Oxford*, as the printing *Aulicus* in *London*, which calls the Parliament Rebels, and this of my Lord of *Canterburies*, wherein he hath cunningly spit at, and bespattered Parliament, City, Assembly, and the endeavours of all.

Tuesday the 14. of January.

THE Lords and Commons agreed upon their Members who are to go to treat at *Uxbridge*, viz. For the Lords, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Earl of *Denbigh*: For the Commons, the Lord *Wainman*, Sir *Henry Vane* Junior, Master *Hollis*, Master *Peepoint*, Master Solicitor, Master *Crew*, Master *Prideaux*, Master *Whitlock*.

This day we had news from *Abington* of a great encounter between the garrison of *Abington*, and *P. Rupert*, *P. Maurice*, the Governour of *Oxford* Col. *Gage* Commanders in chiefe, who had a design upon *Abington*, or *Abingdon* bridge, or both; they were very cunning and private, for as some say, they were breaking down the bridge before it was known, but after they in *Abingdon* understood it, they came out, and behaved themselves most bravely, both horse and foot, the foot standing deep in water, and at this time of the year, shooting untill they had beat the enemy from the bridge, which done (as we understand) the horse pursued divers miles; there was divers wounded we heare of our side, but but eight killed: many killed, wounded, and taken prisoners of the Kings party, among others killed Col. *Gage*, Governour of *Oxford*, hee that relieved *Basing* house, and one of Sir *Hatton Farmers* sons, and divers others of quality: Col. *Aylmer* Major of our side was slain: There were among the prisoners brought into *Abington*, 5 or 6 Irish, who speaking no English, and so being discovered Irish, Col. *Brown* caused to be executed according to Ordinance.

We heare that my Lord *Manchesters* forces that were at *Cambridge*, and other parts of the Association, are drawing to the Line, and likewise my Lord *Gen.* to other parts of the Line.

We heare from *Northumberland*, the Bishoprick, and parts about, that there is great want, and its to be feared there will be a great famine.

Wednesday the 15. of January.

WE had in print the action performed by the garrison of *Abingdon*, and how both horse and foot did bravely, at large related: That we shall observe, is, first that the party commanded by Prince *Rupert* was no doubt the best and the ablest souldiers the King hath yet beaten.

beaten. Secondly, that they should at this season attempt such a design as the storming *Abingdon*, argues *Abingdon* to be a great eye-sore to them, and is like to be a great gaue in *Oxfords* side, if once we take the field, and draw off the superfluity of their garrison, as we believe we shall ere long.

For this day we understand that Sir *William Waller* is designed to go to morrow morning to command that party of 6000 horse and dragoones now gathered about *Petersfield*, and to go against the *Gorians*, and farther, as occasion, and if there be a necessity, more are to be sent after: if any as: why Sir *William Waller*, who had been exempt had the Ordinance past? Its answered, he is but to command untill that Ordinance be past, or somewhat that is equivalent.

This day we understood by Letters from *Plimouth*, that there hath been a sore encounter between them and the enemy, The manner said to be thus, They had in intention to surprize the Forts neer the Town, which they within had intelligence of, but they came not according to the intended time, which had they done, they had been soundly paid, but came at another time not expected, posselt themselves of two or three speciall Forts, and having taken them, we believe, as you heard before from *Oxford*, put some of ours to the sword, or halter, and turning the Ordinance of the Forts upon the Town, plaid fiercely, which so enraged them of the garrison, that they made out upon them, regained the Forts, and put all they found in them to the sword: This, as neer as we can learn from both sides, was the truth of the businesse, and from thence we may see a necessity of our making to the West as soon as we can.

The Lords this day insisted upon the renewing the Court Martiall: There was this day great talk, as if the withdrawing of our forces lately from about *Newark*, to a somewhat more distance had been to our prejudice, but there is no such thing true.

A Word or two for our Country friends.

From beyond Seas we have news that the French King hath called home his Ambassadour, Monsieur *Seigmont* from Rome, he is also in disfavour, likewise the Cardinall *Theodob. Barbarino* hath turned his Bishoprick of *Avinion* to Cardinall *Pamphilio*: That the French after much battering, and mining have taken the Castle of *Crachnacke*: the forces of Gen. *VVrangle*, prevaile more and more, so that the Nobility, and Commonalty of *Denmarke*, say they will have a Peace, whether their King like it or not: this is the language of Christendom, though it hath not been very fortunate: The forces of *Torsten*son, being advanced towards *Austria*, the French growing numerous on the other side of the *Rhine*, and the Prince of *Transilvania* coming fast towards the Emperours Countries on the one side, and the Emperours lower condition at this time then any since the war begun on the other, makes some believe these joynd powers will fall in upon the Emperour on all sides, and that they will succeed better, than in former attempts of this nature; especially in regard the Turkes forces, as its still said, do vex the Emperours friends. The Count of *Swartzenberg* hath burnt villages, carried away prisoners: And that the Emperour of Turkie hath caused to be strangled the *Bashaw* of *Osen*, for not assisting *Rogotz*, but took bribes of the Emperour of *Germany*: 6000. horse and foot above the usual number are to be raised
this

this Spring in the United Provinces, which purposed that they will fall upon some eminent service. *Gallas* is still in the pound by *Maydenburg*, that *Maydenburg* where *Tilly* was so cruell, and never prospered after, we have received an Extract, of one of the notable victories, that these late wars hath produced, obtained by the King of *Portugall*, against an Army of *Castilians*; we suppose all men that have any knowledge of the affairs beyond Sea do account that Kings claime good, and that he hath but assumed his due, and also how beneficiall he hath been in this present war to help weaken the *Austrian* power, and how much good by consequence the Protestants of *Germany*, and elsewhere are like in conclusion to have thereby: we shall in regard of the credit we give to him that we had it from, give it you at large; but if this relation should not prove true, so soon as we know the contrary, we will tell you our Author.

Here is arrived certain news, that the Marquis of *Trepulsa*, Generall of the King of *Castile* in the Province of *Stremadura* against the *Portugalls* upon the first day of December last past, according to the new account, (when the *Portugall* Army was retired in to their Winter Garrisons) with 13000. foot, and 2500. horse, 10. pieces of Artillery, 550. Wagons of Ammunition, and Baggage: laid a siege to the City of *Elvos*, one of the chiefest places in *Portugall*, the Fortifications whereof, were not yet fully finished, and wherein, were about three or 4000. foot of Garrison souldiers, with only two Companies of horse, the which not brooking to be hemmed in by a Siege, sallied out into the open field, and did there for eight nights together under the shelter of their own Artillery from the City, hold continuall battell with the *Spaniards*, never suffering them to perfect their works or Trenches about the City; and they were so happy in this their encounter with the *Spaniards*, that with the losse of lesse then 20. of their own side they left dead upon the place, between 5. or 6000. *Spaniards*, after which losse the residue of the Spanish forces, hearing the King of *Portugall* was coming in person to succour the said place, with such a confuse of people from all parts of his Kingdom: it is said that there were suddenly aggregated about 100000. *Portugals* into one body (such is the zeal of the *Portugals* to their King and Country) did suddenly flie from their own Trenches by the advantage of the night, that they had laid there Siege unto the place, Realing indeed away, without beating of Drum; leaving behinde them their Artillery (which yet they had care to naile, to make it uselesse to their enemies) and about 300. Waggones of Ammunition and Carriages, as also many Armes.

The *Portugall* besides three places in *Castile*, in the *Stremadura*, and one in *Gaita*, which were taken last year; likewise one Fort Royall they have made in old *Castile*, in the said yeare, the which they have maintained to this day, have made this last Summer another Fort Royall in *Castile* beyond the Town of *Olivena*, upon which *Fabrike* there hath been many Combats divers times, but at last they finished it, and maintaine it likewise in spight of the *Spaniards*.

Some weeks past, there was Letters from *Germany*, that spake of the inclination of the Empire to shew favour to the P. Elector, which we made publike, but understand it hath displeased some, which we are sorry for, and so much the more, because we are informed now the contrary, it was divulged by him that hath adventured many pounds at the Palatinate, with intent to have inhabited there, and lived and died a Subject of that Princes, but in regard its taken so ill, there shall be nothing said for time coming.

